

# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

NOVEMBER, 1906

NO. 5

## The Causes of the Irreligion of the Proletariat.

THE numerous attempts made in Europe and America to christianize the industrial proletariat have completely miscarried; they have not succeeded in moving it from its religious indifference, which becomes general in proportion as machine production enlists new recruits from the peasants, artisans and petty tradesmen into the army of wage-workers.

Machine production, which makes the capitalist religious, tends on the contrary to make the proletariat irreligious.

If it is logical for the capitalist to believe in a Providence attentive to his needs, and in a God who elects him among thousands of thousands, to load with riches his laziness and social inutility, it is still more logical for the proletarian to ignore the existence of a divine Providence, since he knows that no Heavenly Father would give him daily bread if he prayed from morning to evening, and that the wage which produces for him the bare necessities of life is earned by his own labor; and he knows only too well that if he did not work he would starve, in spite of all the Good Gods of heaven and all the philanthropists of earth. The wage-worker is his own providence. His conditions of life make any other providence inconceivable for him; he has not in his life, as the capitalist in his, those strokes of fortune which might by magic lift him out of his sad situation. Wage-worker he is born, wage-worker he lives, wage-worker he dies. His ambition can not go beyond a raise in wages and a job that shall last all the days of the year and all the years of his life. The unforeseen hazards and chances of fortune which predispose the capitalist to superstitious ideas do not exist for the proletarian,

and the idea of God can not appear in the human brain unless its coming is prepared for by certain superstitious ideas, no matter what their source.

If the wage-worker were to let himself be drawn into a belief in that God, whom he hears talked of without paying attention, he would begin by questioning his justice, which allotted to him nothing but work and poverty; he would make the God an object of horror and of hate, and would picture him under the form and aspect of a capitalist exploiter, like the black slaves of the colonies, who said that God was white, like their masters.

Of course the wage-worker has no more idea of the course of economic phenomena than the capitalist and his economists. nor does he understand why as regularly as night succeeds day, the periods of industrial prosperity and work at high pressure are followed by crises and lockouts. This failure to understand, which predisposes the mind of the capitalist to belief in God, has not the same effect on that of the wage-worker, because they occupy different positions in modern production. The possession of the means of production gives the capitalist the direction without the control of the production and distribution of products, and obliges him, consequently, to concern himself with the causes which govern them: the wage-worker, on the contrary, has no right to trouble himself with them. He has no part in the direction of the productive process, nor in the choice and the procuring, nor in the sale of the product; he has but to furnish labor like a beast of burden. The passive obedience of the Jesuits, which arouses the wordy indignation of the freethinkers, is the law in the army and the workshop. The capitalist plants the wage-worker in front of the moving machine, loaded with raw materials, and orders him to work; he becomes a cog of the machine. He has in production but one aim, the wage, the sole interest which capitalism has been forced to leave him; when he has drawn this, he has nothing more to claim. The wage being the sole interest that it has permitted him to keep in production, he therefore has to concern himself simply with having work so as to receive wages; and as the employer or his representatives are the givers of work, it is they, men of flesh and blood like himself, that he blames, if he has or has not work, and not economic phenomena, which he may be entirely ignorant of; it is against these men that he is irritated for reductions of wage and slackness of work, and not against the general perturbations of production. He holds them responsible for all that comes to him, good or evil. The wage-worker personalizes the accidents of production which affect him, while the possession of the means of production depersonalizes itself in proportion as they take the form of machinery.



The life led by the laborer in the great industries has removed him even more than the capitalist from the influences of the environment of nature which in the peasant keep up the belief in ghosts, in sorceries, in witchcraft and other superstitious ideas. He sees the sun only through the factory windows; he knows nature only from the country surrounding the city where he works, and that he sees only on rare occasions; he could not distinguish a field of wheat from a field of oats and nor a potato plant from hemp; he knows the products of the earth only in the form under which he consumes them. He is completely ignorant of the work of the fields and the causes affecting the yield of the harvests; drought, excessive rains, hail, cyclones, etc., never make him think of their action on nature and her harvests. His urban life shelters him from the anxieties and the troublesome cares which assail the mind of the farmer. Nature has no hold upon his imagination.

The labor of the mechanical factory puts the wage-worker in touch with terrible natural forces unknown to the peasant, but instead of being mastered by them, he controls them. The gigantic mechanism of iron and steel which fills the factory, which makes him move like an automaton, which sometimes clutches him, mutilates him, bruises him, does not engender in him a superstitious terror as the thunder does in the peasant, but leaves him unmoved, for he knows that the limbs of the mechanical monster were fashioned and mounted by his comrades, and that he has but to push a lever to set it in motion or stop it. The machine, in spite of its miraculous power and productiveness, has no mystery for him. The laborer in the electric works, who has but to turn a crank on a dial to send miles of motive power to tramways or light to the lamps of a city, has but to say, like the God of Genesis, "Let there be light," and there is light. Never sorcery more fantastic was imagined, yet for him this sorcery is a simple and natural thing. He would be greatly surprised if one were to come and tell him that a certain God might if he chose stop the machines and extinguish the lights when the electricity had been turned on; he would reply that this anarchistic God would be simply a misplaced gearing or a broken wire, and that it would be easy for him to seek and to find this disturbing God. The practice of the modern workshop teaches the wage-worker scientific determinism, without his needing to pass through the theoretical study of the sciences.

Since the capitalist and the proletarian no longer live in the fields, natural phenomena can no longer produce in them the superstitious ideas, which were utilized by the savage in elaborating his idea of God; but if the former, since he belongs to the ruling and parasitic class, undergoes the action of the social

phenomena which generate superstitious ideas, the other, since he belongs to the exploited and productive class, is removed from their superstition-breeding action. The capitalist class can never be de-christianized and delivered from belief in God until it shall be expropriated from its class dictatorship and from the wealth that it plunders daily from the wage-working laborers.

The free and impartial study of nature has engendered and firmly established in certain scientific circles the conviction that all phenomena are subject to the law of necessity, and that their determining causes must be sought within nature and not without. This study has, moreover, made possible the subjection of natural forces to the use of man.

But the industrial use of natural forces has transformed the means of production into economic organisms so gigantic that they escape the control of the capitalists who monopolize them, as is proved by the periodic crises of industry and commerce. These organisms of production, though of human creation, disturb the social environment, when crises break out, as blindly as the natural forces trouble nature when once unchained. The modern means of production can no longer be controlled except by society, and for that control to be established, they must first become social property; then only will they cease to engender social inequalities, to give wealth to the parasites and inflict miseries on the wage-working producers, and create world-wide perturbations which the capitalist and his economists can attribute only to chance and to unknown causes. When they shall be possessed and controlled by society, there will be no more Unknowable in the social order; then and only then will belief in God be definitely eliminated from the human mind.

The indifference in religious matters of our modern laborers, the determining causes of which I have been tracing, is a new phenomenon, now produced for the first time in history: the popular masses have, till now, always elaborated the spiritual ideas, which the philosophers have merely had to refine and to obscure, as well as the legends and the religious ideas, which the priests and the ruling classes have merely organized into official religions and instruments of intellectual oppression.

PAUL LAFARGUE,

*(From "Social and Philosophical Studies.")*



## What British Labor Leaders Read.

W. T. STEAD of the English *Review of Reviews* has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of working class psychology. He wrote to the fifty-one labor members of the House of Commons, of whom about half are avowed socialists, and asked each to tell what books he had found most useful. He received replies from forty-five, all real workingmen, and published them in the June *Review of Reviews*. I have made an analysis of the replies, with the following result:

Altogether 148 different authors are named, more than half of them only once. A few appear many times in the lists. The poll is headed by Ruskin with 17 votes; then comes Dickens with 15; The Bible with 14; Carlyle with 13; Henry George with 12; Shakespeare, Scott, and John Stuart Mill with 10 each; Bunyan with 8; Burns with 7; and Tennyson and Mazzini with 6 each. Kingsley has 5 votes; and Adam Smith, Macaulay, Green, Thorold Rogers, Thackeray and Cobbett have 4 apiece.

One of the most curious facts is that scarcely any socialist writers are mentioned. The most popular are Blatchford, Webb and Fabian essayists, but even these are mentioned only three times apiece. Marx, Morris, and Robert Owen are named twice; Engels, Hyndman, Gronlund, and Bellamy once; but no other socialist name appears at all. Evidently British socialist members get their economics from George and Mill, with some aid from Adam Smith and Thorold Rogers. Mill made John Burns a socialist by failing to refute socialist arguments. George led Keir Hardie into socialism, and several others testify to his great influence on their minds.

There is very little difference between the reading of socialists and non-socialists. The only noticeable one is that the names of Carlyle and George are very prominent in the socialist lists. These seem to be the great makers of socialists among intelligent British workmen. The testimony to the power of Carlyle is very strong, the favorite works being "Sartor Resartus," "Heroes and Hero Worship," and "Past and Present." James Parker says: " 'Sartor Resartus' is, I think, the book I would save from my library if my house was on fire and I could only escape with one book." James O'Grady says: "Above and beyond all Carlyle is my solace and inspiration." And Keir Hardie says: "I have learned much of the human failings and weaknesses of Carlyle, but I still remain a worshipper at his shrine."

It is worth noting that poets occupy an important place in

these lists. No less than twenty-five are named, but mainly by certain individuals who seem to have a fine ear, for many of the lists are entirely prosaic. Shakespeare, Burns and Tennyson are the favorites. Novelists are of course much read, Dickens being easily first, and Scott easily second.

Some of the omissions are rather surprising to me. These men though students of economics, seem to care very little for history. Macaulay, though as interesting as any novelist, has only four admirers, and Green has the same. Gibbon's name appears but once, and no other historian of any account is mentioned at all. Essayists do not seem to be favorites. Even Bacon is never mentioned, nor is Matthew Arnold. Emerson is named twice, however, and Montaigne once.

As a rule only writers who have been known for a long time appear in the lists. Even Tolstoi and Ibsen are never mentioned, though both can be had very cheap in England. Yet many of the labor members are under 40. On the other hand old books are little read, except a few like the Bible and Shakespeare. "Robinson Crusoe," is named only once; "Gulliver's Travels" and the "Arabian Nights" never at all. Professional critics all consider Fielding England's greatest novelist, but he has no following among the labor members.

The British workman seems to be about as insular as other Britons. Many American writers are named, the most popular next to George being Whitman and Lowell, who have three votes each. Other foreigners, however, are little read. Victor Hugo, indeed, gets three votes, but the irresistible Dumas has only one, and so have Cervantes, Balzac and Zola. Even the best French novels are almost unknown in England.

The qualities that most attract labor members seem to be two in number; an interest in economic problems, and an intense moral fervor. Such writers as Carlyle, Ruskin, Mill and George have both qualities in the highest degree. Depth of feeling seems to be considered more important than lucidity of intellect. Oscar Wilde once said that it was easier to have sympathy with suffering than to have sympathy with thought. Evidently labor members are like ordinary people in that respect.

R. B. KERR.



## Contest with Government Ownership.

THE conflict over the distribution of labor's product is irrepressible, and in this conflict the only vantage ground from which any lasting success can be forced by either side is the control of the tools and natural resources. So the conflict is developing itself into one for ownership of the means of collective production and distribution. That its conclusion ultimately is the common ownership of the things we depend upon in common is not in doubt. It is a question only when and how it will be. The theory has not been successfully controverted, and cannot be that the development of capitalist industry necessarily increases the number of those who are unavoidably unemployed and reduces the workers to a condition more and more unbearable. For this very reason it is clear that this capitalist system must and will be modified before it reaches its climax. There will be a transition rather than a catastrophe. But the aggregate evils of the transition may be greater than the sum of all the evils of any possible catastrophe. This transition to socialism can be through a partial condition like that anticipated in Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Socialism, The Coming Slavery." But we are glad that we don't have to agree with Mr. Spencer that it is slavery that is coming.

Meanwhile the work of the socialist agitators is first to discredit and destroy the popular belief in the normal and legal rights of capital. This work they are doing with right good success everywhere, arousing the workers to realization of the fact that capitalists have no rights as capitalists, and that they have no power themselves to enforce their pretensions. And the capitalists are lending us effective aid in this work. As it advances to completion, laws and usages will be modified to conform. Though the changes be by imperceptible increments, the result will be collective ownership of the means of collective production just as surely as if the necessary properties were immediately "confiscated". But the existing industrial and financial organization will not be so greatly shaken.

Public opinion of a nation turns as a great ship turns, imperceptibly to those who strain at the ropes. But the growing sentiment for public ownership shows that public opinion yields to physical necessities and the incessant socialist agitation. Yet its advocates protest truly that they are not socialists. Mr. Hearst says "We are not opposed to capitalism large or small." Socialists regard this radical movement with distrust and hostility, because

by it alone can the time be delayed when much more will be gained than state capitalism. That the government should conduct the capitalist system is something to which we are just as much opposed as the capitalists themselves have been. But the campaign thunder of the Socialist Party has been stolen it seems. And so it must seem for a while to those who lose sight of the object to be gained by government ownership. Does the Socialist Party possess any great principle distinguishing it from other political parties which professional politicians cannot steal? The socialist movement was born in revolt against the horrors of poverty. It gets its whole philosophy by analyzing the modern industrial and financial system in search of the cause of poverty. Its aim, namely, to make the conditions of all employments prohibit the incomes which able bodied idlers draw through their ownership of the means of production and distribution, is as opposed to capitalist business and capitalist politics as light is to darkness or life is to death. Where one is the other is not. This principle no professional politician will adopt; and it is the only one worth stealing. We want full pay for the work we do, and government ownership only if it is a means to this end. But government ownership will not in itself secure labor's product to those who produce it. This is sustained by the experience with government ownership abroad, of which there is very much more already established in European countries than is even proposed here. Yet it has not stopped the migration of hundreds of thousands each year to this country in search of better conditions of labor. Nevertheless it is expected that the movement for government ownership now being organized within and without the old political parties will swallow up the Socialist Party by becoming more and more radical, as though they would defeat the socialist principle by adopting it or could defeat it in the end by counterfeiting it.

To this new and shifty antagonist in the political field for public ownership not opposed to capitalism the Socialist Party will have to oppose more skill and political sagacity than is needed against the clumsy brutality of the old capitalism. Capitalist public ownership has certain points of immense advantage in a contest with the Socialist Party for immediate political success. Complete collectivism is not an issue at this time, and we cannot make it an issue. And, if we were in power to set about its establishment at once, we could hardly set about it in any other way beside that by which it is coming through the public ownership of public utilities. But the way it will come through public ownership of public utilities by capitalist administration will be fundamentally different to the way it will come under socialist administration. When we talk to the man on the street about a



new system, it simply makes him tired. And when he will listen, we do not succeed in giving him a clear and positive understanding of what we mean by the new system, because the system will have to evolve itself. It is evolving itself. The thought of the complete subversion of the present order of things to replace it with our brand new system is too big. It overwhelms him and frightens him. We might do just as well if we did not worry him too much with it. We shall convince him more easily of the irreconcilable antagonism between his interests and the capitalist interests that finance the other political parties, and of the necessity for the political organization of his class against them. We cannot make a successful political party out of devotees of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Most of those who are capable of understanding us are dominated by middle class morals and ideals. The majority of those who are incapable of understanding us are propertyless wage workers on whom we have a more unmistakable claim than on any other class. Capitalism has crushed hope out of many of them. One needs but to look into their blank hopeless countenances and meet their dull stare to be overwhelmed by a sense of how hopeless is the effort to inspire them with an ideal and arouse them to resistance. Of those who study the problems involved the majority are holders of some small investments. And the most energetic and successful members of the wage working class hope themselves to become investors too; so that their morals and ideals are also the same. They hope to enjoy security and an income without labor. It is hopeless to appeal to their moral sensibilities against the inherent immorality of capitalism. Theft consists undoubtedly in the harm done to those whose goods are taken without recompense, because they are put to some pains to replace them. And the effect of obtaining goods without labor equal to their production is the same by whatever method it is done, and even if a partial recompense is given to satisfy the law. But honestly they do not regard it as wrong, and they hope to succeed by it. Often they are deeply religious. They hold some absurdly distorted notions of honor and patriotism which are sometimes as sincere as they are fantastic. But the commonplace morality is quite good enough for them. The clergy, who say they are divinely ordained to teach us morals, naturally resent the suggestion that there may be something of morals known or to be learned which their teachings do not comprehend, and they retort by attacking the socialist philosophy. If a wage-worker has a small investment, though he gets nine-tenths of his income in wages, and his predominant interest as a wage worker is nine times greater than his interest as a capitalist, nevertheless he thinks of himself as a capitalist. He does not

consider that whatever his employment, and whatever the name under which he receives compensation for that employment, his compensation must be less because of cheap labor in other employments. To him that political party appeals successfully which claims to serve both the interests of laborers wanting better wages and of business men who want to hire labor cheap, for he is in fact something of both laborer and capitalist himself.

The farmers regard socialism with abhorrence, thinking that it threatens their possession of the land they till. Whereas the number of mortgaged farms and farms worked by tenants and of farms abandoned outright increases; and the increase reaches the dimensions of a national calamity. Trusts and monopolies, especially the railroad monopoly, which taxes the farmers' goods both coming and going, skim off all the surplus of the farmers' annual income above the cost of the barest kind of living. But, while the financiers leave him title to the land, the farmer works under the delusion that he is an independent property owner, working for himself and family. The farmers, as a class, will vote for the government ownership of railroads, as that is not opposed to capitalism.

Meanwhile an attitude can be maintained by us, which, if it will not yet win them over, will at least command the respectful attention of that large class of workers who are also small investors, leaving us free to show clearly and forcibly that this government ownership lacks the very thing essential to make it worth while to them. The Socialist Party will doubtless put forth its utmost efforts to proclaim the fact that municipal and national ownership will be in the interest of that class which pays the campaign fund of the political party which administers it. But it is not true that government ownership administered by a capitalist party will be necessarily or positively of no benefit to the workers. And we shall defeat ourselves by attacking the people who are really working for government ownership in other organizations besides the Socialist Party. Violent denunciation of the leaders in whom they have confidence will not tend to destroy that confidence. At the same time it is incredible that the capitalists themselves would prove the correctness of the socialist principle for us by a successful application of it, even if they undertake government ownership to stave off political defeat; and we shall have our opportunity by effective criticism to show the reasons for its failure. That public ownership after the fashion of the capitalist should be corrupt is inherent in the nature of it. It will be corrupt not only as capitalist business is corrupt, but even as measured by the moral standards of the trading class themselves. The public may expect no mercy and should deserve none when they choose to have the purchase of properties from



public service corporations negotiated for them by the politicians who prove themselves attorneys, so to speak of the capitalist owners of these corporations. Government industries administered by professional politicians are often disgracefully inefficient and usually unprogressive, resisting the introduction of improved methods and devices. But these things will be learned by experience.

If this public ownership party which is not opposed to capitalism great or small is to accomplish anything at all, it must accomplish it at the expense of the great capitalists. Money must be gotten by taxation to pay for the properties designed for government ownership. Since it will be difficult or impossible to collect this from the wage workers, already reduced to the barest necessities, the property owners will pay it. Purchase by the issue of bonds will gain nothing. It gives government guarantee of the incomes which it is the object to reduce. For the bonds must be at least as good as an investment in order to be worth as much as the stocks they are issued to pay for. In fact it is possible to get government ownership only by taxing in the largest proportion the very people who own the properties the government would buy. The capitalists oppose with all their might having the money taken from them by taxation to pay for the properties taxed. It is in fact confiscation. By no means will they be tricked or urged into supporting a political party for any such purpose, though they might gladly exchange their stocks for government bonds. The great capitalists show no hesitation in declaring themselves opposed to government ownership and will present a powerful and determined opposition to it. On every field of industrial and political conflict they have defeated the little business man who renews his hope of self preservation by this movement for government ownership of the big capitalist's business. Into the world wide titanic struggle it comes with no more inspiring motive than the business interests of the petty traders and no other definite principle to determine its course. Its advocates among the petty traders have no new weapons and none so good that their old opponents do not have much better. This movement trims its course to the wavering and conflicting purposes of the little capitalists, a demoralized and failing class. It possesses no principle that is not equally well adopted by any old political machine whenever it becomes useful for political purposes. It can pursue no definite course, therefore, with steadiness and confidence. Its contemptible weapons of trading for what it can get and compromising where no honorable and lasting compromise is possible will be soon lost in the confusion of its indecision. Nor is it by any means possible that the matter will be left to rest with its failure. Some relief from the increas-

ing economic pressure will be gotten. And failure of half-hearted measures can but make the demand for it more uncompromising and peremptory. Compromise after compromise will indeed be wrung from the great capitalists, but not by those who seek compromise. Compromise they will yield only to blunt the sharpness of the demand for much more and to prevent the immediate effectiveness of socialist agitation. And, indeed, is the approaching climax of capitalism in this most advanced of capitalist nations so slow and so far off that relief can be felt from such a doubtful and trifling concession as this government ownership? It has been yielded already by the less developed capitalism of Europe without preventing the rapid increase in the socialist vote there. If no war or other world calamity intervenes to relieve the overproduction of capitalism and postpone again the industrial depression which Mr. Rockefeller says may be expected in the next two years, the socialistic sentiment that expresses itself in a hesitating demand for government ownership may crystallize suddenly into socialist conviction and determination. We may then expect here what has happened abroad, first in Germany, then in France, and now in England, a magnificent increase in the socialist vote.

WARREN ATKINSON.

New York, September, 1906.



## Socialist Organization for the Young.

THE organization of the young has now become an international movement. It has taken various forms corresponding to the political conditions in the various countries. In Austria the youths' organization already embraces over 3,300 members, and this in spite of the fact that students, and especially those under age have no legal right to organize. Their organ, the *Jugendliche Arbeiter*, offers the best proof of how effectively the young graduates of the schools can be trained for socialism. Protest meetings were held in nearly all the great cities in opposition to the proposed "reform" of the factory law which would have essentially injured the condition of the young workers. The Austrian organizations have decided that economic activity united to political education produces the most satisfactory results. A special organization is also maintained in Austria for the Bohemian young men. This has its headquarters in Prague and pursues the same lines of work.

In Holland the organization of the young is directly affiliated with the Socialist Party, has considerable strength, and has its own organ, *De Zaaijer* (The Sower).

France, Norway and Denmark have similar unions of the young, all of which are active politically, and some of which devote especial attention to the anti-military propaganda. The battle against militarism is also carried on by the "Union of Young Socialists" in Italy, whose members, because of this activity, have recently been subject to most brutal attacks — so much so that a great meeting was recently held in Rome to protest to the government against such treatment.

At the present time the strongest existing organization of the young is the "Socialist Young Guard" of Belgium, which at the present time has over 13,000 members. Here also the anti-military propaganda plays the most prominent part.

In Germany the river Main marks the boundary of the activity of such organizations. In southern Germany where there is still something of right of free union, the organizations of the young have combined into a general organization, possessing its own organ, *Die Junge Garde*. (The Young Guard). This organization is also permitted to teach its members politically. In northern Germany, on the contrary, the scope of organizations of the young is very limited. Consequently the police exercise their tyrannous power to the utmost in order to cripple even what little activity is legally permissible.

In this way the foolish officials give a practical illustration of the existence of a class state, which is much more effective than the mere statement of that fact which they forbid the socialists making. While our south German organizations are principally occupied with political activity, those of north Germany are compelled to confine themselves exclusively to economic action, with a little educational work. But this education is always in accord with the modern labor movement, and is especially effective when combined with practical union activity. When the young are assembled in purely educational organizations, only a few of those who are especially studious will remain true to the flag; but when the miserable condition of the young is kept constantly before their eyes, with the long hours of labor, the miserable wages, the insufficient schooling, with the impossibility of any higher intellectual training, etc., then the young pour into our ranks filled with a determination to better their condition.

They learn to grasp the idea of organization and to recognize the power of knowledge. The growth of the Berlin organization, now numbering over 1,000 members is an excellent illustration of the application of the proper tactics to Prussian conditions.

F. FRITZ MASCHKE in *Gleichheit*.

*Translated by A. M. Simons.*



## Socialism the Goal of Evolution.

**T**HAT critical moment when some primitive, semi-human, savage first picked up a stone from the ground with his hairy hand or broke off the convenient limb of a tree to use as a weapon against some one of the numerous and ferocious rivals and enemies by whom he was surrounded and with whom he strove for existence, marked the opening of a new era in the history of life upon the globe. Up till that moment evolution had proceeded exclusively upon the plane of physical changes and the concomitant psychical changes within the bodies of the particular organisms or species of organisms effected. There had been constant adaptation and re-adaptation of life in its manifold forms to the condition of its varied and ever varying environment but there had never been the attempt to adapt the environment or the forces and materials of the environment into harmony with the needs of life. For the first time, by that act, the awakening consciousness of life began to utilize the materials and energies external to itself to supplement its own native organs and energies in seeking to provide for the satisfaction of its desires. Man, the king of nature, was born when he first began to enslave nature. The limits of physical or purely biologic development had been reached. Henceforth, the further evolution of life was to be essentially dependent upon and characterized by the evolution of the artificially produced means and appliances ministering to the use and comfort of that race of beings which by the combination of favorable circumstances had alone been enabled to rise above the level of the possibilities of purely brute development. With the aid of the few simple and crude tools and implements of primitive industry, which he slowly learned to fashion by rude processes out of the raw material supplied to him by nature, and which with the growth of his experience and of the mental power which the use of these tools fostered gradually increased in variety and in the degree of their adaptation to the purposes for which they were intended, man's power of production and of destruction became enormously enlarged.

No longer confined to the slender resources and limited sum total of physical energy of his bare body and bodily organs he was no longer completely at the mercy of the elements and of the beasts of prey. With the speeding centuries he quickly spread towards the uttermost limits of the habitable earth, driving before him or subduing to his use the four-footed denizens of the forest and the plain. Thus, having fairly entered upon

that path of progress which was to lead him from the hopeless darkness and stagnating helplessness of animality to the ever broadening fields of future culture and civilization, early man in time accumulated out of his dearly bought experiences so large a stock of methods and instruments for the satisfaction of his expanding wants and for meeting the more complex conditions of his new environment, that it became impossible for the individual in attempting to satisfy his various individual needs to utilize advantageously or, later, even to attempt to utilize at all, directly and by himself, the whole or any large portion of these concrete results of the race experience.

Division of labor, in this higher stage of human advancement, thus became the indispensable foundation of the industrial structure of the race life. As no one could with his own labor find the time to construct and keep in good repair all the tools of industry; procure and properly prepare and store all the raw material required; acquire sufficient degree of skill in the manipulation of all these various tools together with a full working knowledge of all the processes of all of the arts and crafts; as, moreover, the aptitudes of men for various kinds of labor was soon found to differ, and as it was also discovered to be most advantageous from the point of view of economy in time, labor and material for each worker to apply himself to one set of tasks; the differentiation of industry into the various trades and occupations became inevitable and marked the opening of a new period, which we might call the secondary period, in the history of human industrial progress.

The time came, however, when this secondary stage in the progress of production, constituting the handicraft period of industry, in which each worker, practicing his particular craft, was an independent producer, working with the aid of his own few simple and inexpensive tools and receiving the full value of the product of his labor, gave way to that still more productive system of industry, wherein, as at the present day, hundreds and thousands of workers, each occupied with an almost infinitesimal process in the general labor of the whole body and working upon tools which are but parts of one vast and intricate machine or system of machinery, toil though alas, not for themselves or to receive the value of their own proportionate share in the product of their joint labor, but for the benefit and profit and under the control of the non-laboring capitalist, owner of the machine.

It was not that the handicraft worker had grown weary of his independent status and that the privilege of keeping the full fruits of his industry had lost its value in his eyes that he enlisted in the ranks of the army of wage-laborers to toil for the profit of a master, but that the technical forces accumulating during the period of handicraft industry had gradually outgrown



the limitations of individualistic production that drove the erst-while self-employed artisan from his little shop, which was also his home, and out into that open market, where he had nothing to sell but that most precious and yet cheapest of all commodities — his labor power — the most precious of commodities because it is that commodity which alone produces all other commodities, yet the cheapest, because the only commodity which is always and everywhere sold — so long as it continues to be sold — below its value in use.

The growth and accumulation of technical knowledge, embodying itself in ever more costly, complex and colossal but, also, proportionately, ever more productive tools or machinery wherewith to aid human industry, has given the modern tool or machinery such a continuously increasing importance and value in the process of production, as to enable it to finally completely overshadow the individual user of the machine. It may thus, not without truth, be said that the essential difference between medieval or handicraft industry and modern or machine industry, in so far as concerns the most important matter affecting the interests of the producing class, namely, the changed relation between the producer and the means of production, consists in this, that in the former type of human economy man is the master of the tool whereas in the latter the tool or machine has become the master of the man.

The period of individualistic or handicraft production having passed away, the individual producer, being unable to labor for himself, must join himself to a modern "captain of industry," the owner of the social machinery of production, as the serf of Feudal times joined himself to the lord of the manor, and even as the serf toiled three days in the week for his lord and three days for himself, so must the modern wage-serf, straining and sweating at his task, devote a fraction of his work-time in producing the equivalent of the wages he receives and the remainder in creating profits — "net income" — for his master.

With the further and certain development of the present industrial system we can expect no other outcome than the further intensification of the characteristic and inherent evils of that system. Labor constantly being displaced by machinery must become ever more dependent upon the owners of the machinery for the opportunities of continued employment, and in creating an ever increasing total product must be content to accept as the full reward of its exertion an ever decreasing absolute and relative share of such product. As the concentration of control over the processes of production and distribution continues, the laboring classes having less and less voice in the determination of the terms and conditions for the disposition of their labor power must become equally as helpless, both individu-

ally and collectively, in determining the prices of those necessities of life which their own labor has brought into existence. On the one hand; the "market price of labor," as set by the "free competition" of a vast standing army of machine displaced, starving unemployed must come to determine the remuneration to be paid an ever increasing proportion of the producers of the nation, and on the other hand, the "one price" or monopoly price system of "charging all that the traffic will bear" must come to be the prevailing system in the distribution of the general industrial product. The monopoly by the capitalist class, gradually narrowing and consolidating into a single but immensely powerful capitalist company or group of affiliated capitalist interests, of all the means and resources of social production and of the entire product of the general industry, resulting as this must, in intense suffering and discontent among the masses, must give rise to increasingly violent social paroxysms in the form of universal strikes, lockouts, panics and other industrial and social disturbances marking the inevitable and approaching breakdown and dissolution of the capitalist system of industry and the advent of a new and higher system.

The two opposing social classes: on the one side, the capitalist class, a mere handful, owning and disposing of everything, but itself producing nothing; and on the other side, the laborers, the whole of the effective and socially necessary part of the population, producing all the wealth of society, maintaining society, yet scarcely accounted as a part of society, and having no share or portion in the inheritance of society; these two opposing social classes, confronting each other, must each become conscious of their mutual antagonism of interests, and the workers, aroused to a sense of their anomalous situation and to a consciousness of their class duty and historic class destiny, must finally, in the might of their overwhelming numbers and in the might of their organization as the producing units of society, arise and overthrow the rule and dominion of the capitalist class, the owners of the social means of production, together with the entire system of private ownership in the means of production, and establish upon the ruins of that system the system of universal social or public ownership and operation, by and for all the members of society, of all the means and resources for the production and distribution of all those things ministering to or satisfying the needs and requirements of society.

We have seen before, when viewing the beginnings of human industry, that human development differs in its nature from brute or purely biologic development, in that while the latter represents the effects of the actions of the environment upon the organism the former consists essentially in the modification and subjection of the environment in harmony with the

needs and requirements of man. This modification and subjection of the environment by man; in other words, man's control over nature, becomes more complete and perfect in proportion to the closeness of human co-operation and the unity of human interests. The advance in the arts and forms of production has always been dependent upon and run parallel with the growth of human association and co-operation. Increasing division of labor within society, which is one of the main characteristics of industrial progress, necessarily involves the division of labor between a larger number of laborers, all co-operating whether consciously and voluntarily, or otherwise, towards the same end. So long, however, as upon his economic side, that is, the side where man wars with nature for the means of his existence, the race continues to be in any degree divided against itself, its forces being wasted in competitive struggle and internecine class strife, it is impossible to make the most of the environment or to raise the economic level of race life to its highest point of perfection; efficient control of the environment and full development of the natural and social resources for the greatest benefit of the whole of society requiring unity of action and being inconsistent with a system of economic warfare and conflicting private interests. Only when all opposing and competing individual and class interests will have been fused and amalgamated into the general social or racial interests; only when man will stand united and with all his forces massed in a solid phalanx against the circumstances and forces of his environment, the strength of each individual in society being multiplied by the combined strength of every other individual, will he have risen to be the supreme and unchallenged master of his planet, the unrivalled and triumphant conqueror of the earth. Only then, and not till then, will his dominion over nature have become complete, and only then will have begun the Reign of Man, the Era of Man, the era of the new born social man, of the man realizing the ideal of the god in the splendor of his glory, his freedom and his power.

We have seen that the final and inevitable outcome of industrial evolution, the goal towards which humanity is being hurried along by the current of economic progress, is the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism. The task we have set before ourselves, however, is to show that Socialism is the result of that general and, as it were, preordained progress of mankind of which economic progress is but the most striking and the all pervasive manifestation, and that, in other words, in the development of any of those things which go to make up human civilization and which help to lift mankind higher in the scale of existence we have that which contributes also to the development of Socialism.

Let us consider, for example, the effect upon the progress



of the Socialist movement of improvements in the means of communication; and, assuredly, none will deny that the development of the means of communication constitutes one of the most influential factors in the advancement of civilization. What, now, must be the ultimate effect upon the political and economic state of mankind of these modern improved means of communication, the transcontinental express train, the fast ocean steamship, the telegraph, the submarine cable and the telephone, which by annihilating distances and bringing the ends of the earth together turn the human race into one family and the whole world into a single city? Is it not inevitable that the fading away of the senseless hatreds and jealousies of rival nationalities and the awakening of the spirit of human fellowship which must follow the increasing intercourse between and the increasing intermingling of the peoples of the earth must beget also that spirit of solidarity among the workers of all nations which must lead them to unite against their common oppressors and despoilers, the international parasites upon the tree of the world's productivity, the international capitalist and labor consuming class, whose continued domination is made possible only by the division in the ranks of the toilers? Collective man can not come to know himself, can not come to be at one with himself, while the locomotive pioneers of the race and the facilities for the transmission of intelligence are bounded by the limitations of animal and wind power. Socialism as a mass movement of collective humanity and as a movement for increasing the value, the security and the dignity of human life by the union of the isolated or individual life into the collective or common life becomes increasingly possible only with the advance of those arts which abridging space and binding all races and regions in the ties of intimate physical contact and mutual dependence make all men neighbors and co-workers and all the nations of the earth partakers of a common and inseparable destiny.

That general progress of the arts which manifests itself in the increase in the productivity of labor and which is another characteristic of advancing civilization, is also an indispensable requisite to the growth of Socialism and to the practical working out of the Socialist ideal. So long as the entire time and energy of the masses of the population must be absorbed in toil to provide the absolute necessities of individual existence, control of the collective affairs must remain in the hands of a special governing class, but government by a class, however necessary or unavoidable it may be at a certain stage of social development, is incompatible with that spirit of democracy which is the animating principle of the Socialist movement, and it is, therefore, only when the progress of industry has reached the point where, under a just system of distribution of wealth, some degree

of leisure and refined ease may be insured to all that the ideal of Socialism becomes capable of realization.

Another factor of the highest value in preparing the race for its rebirth through the social revolution is the advance in the knowledge of natural phenomena and the accompanying rise of that spirit of free criticism which in turn is so necessary to the continued progress of scientific inquiry. As men obtain a clearer conception of the universe in which they live and of their own relationship to surrounding nature, as they come to learn something of cause and effect and of the universality, the all-sufficiency and the unbending uniformity of natural law, they begin to perceive the baselessness and utter unreasonableness of the theological prejudices and practices which divide them into mutually abhorring sects and factions and bar the way to co-operation and brotherhood. With minds freed from the terror and domination of the phantoms of the skies, now recognized as the creatures of the unenlightened imagination of the childhood of the race, and awakened by the new knowledge to a consciousness of the oneness of mankind in origin and destiny, and of its oneness, too, as well in its freedom from control by any power external to nature or to itself as in its freedom to control and exploit for its own uttermost benefit all of the powers and resources residing within nature, men now become ready to join hands in the building of that co-operative commonwealth which shall enable each to share the joys of comradeship with all and which shall bring to each the blessings of a world that shall be the joint inheritance of all. Ceasing to recognize the authority claimed on behalf of the gods above, they laugh to scorn the kindred claim of the divine right of privilege to authority here below. "The powers that be," declare the priestly and apostolic upholders of the right of might to govern, "are ordained of God;" but as faith in the supernatural as a moving principle of human activity passes away, the rule of the few, always bolstered up by the dogma of divine grace, likewise begins to crumble. No form of despotism or of class domination can long maintain itself when men have become intellectually free. The rise of modern science and the accompanying spread of the spirit of rationalism, by leading to the decay of theocracy, the main support alike of autocracy, aristocracy and plutocracy, must result in the breakdown of the entire system of authoritarianism in government and society.

In another way, again, is the progress of Socialism dependent upon the progress of science and upon the changes in the mental attitude of men towards things in general consequent upon the development of scientific knowledge. As discovery is added to discovery, and as, one by one, in every field of human thought and experience, what were believed to be self-evident

truths are found to be fundamental errors, the presumption gains ground that the social and economic system under which men live and which on every hand is seen to be so fruitful of misery and suffering is instead of being the product of special creation or the result of the operation of necessary and beneficent natural law the outcome of centuries of injustice and usurpation perpetrated by the possessing and power holding classes. No longer deeming any subject affecting the interests of mankind to be too sacred for critical investigation, a careful analysis of the existing social and economic institutions and a survey of their gradual development through the past, soon discloses to inquiring minds the absolutely iniquitous basis upon which rests the structure of modern society, while setting in motion the current of a revolutionary agitation which must lead to its inevitable overthrow. Accustomed as men become to radical innovations and improvements in all departments of human life and thought and in the practical everyday affairs of trade and industry, they become prepared for that greatest of all changes in the history of progress, the change involved in the transformation of society from a capitalist to a Socialist basis, from the state in which men wildly and desperately struggle with one another for the day's bread and the day's job and where the many sow that the few may reap to the state where all in fraternal concord and unity live and labor in security and honor upon their common inheritance jointly occupied and co-operatively administered by all.

Still another factor which we must not pass over as contributing in a most important measure to the development of the Socialist ideal and to the bringing men into fitness for the Socialist state is the growth of the ethical spirit or spirit of justice. The increasing density of population which since the beginning of history has been forcing men more and more into each other's society and made it ever more necessary for the larger number to seek their livelihood by the peaceful and orderly activities of productive industry rather than by the chase and by deeds of violence and bloodshed has slowly been instilling into the minds of men that sentiment of regard for the rights of others without some rudiments of which no society can exist. Early man just emerging from the period of animality and continuing for an immense interval of time in the stage of semi-brutality had no conception of the possession by his fellows, save those of his own immediate kith and kin, of any rights which he was bound to respect. Might was then the only recognized source of right. Hence cannibalism, chattel slavery, serfdom, despotism and class rule in every shape and disguise, as they respectively made their appearance at different periods of the world's history, far from being regarded as in any way wrong or improper, were each in



turn universally considered as the most normal, legitimate and divinely ordained form of social polity.

Gradually, among the masses held down in the chains of abject slavery by the great and powerful, there grew up the ethics of brotherhood. Mutual sympathy with each other's suffering led to mutual helpfulness. The consolidation of authority and the division of mankind everywhere into the two social classes of oppressors and oppressed, despoilers and despoiled, privileged and enslaved, the legalized and divinely ordained idle robber class and the outlawed and heaven accursed toiling victim class, led to a similar differentiation in the ethical development of these two classes. While the right of might to its prey was from the beginning and continued to be to the last the central though more or less veiled principle in the moral system of the ruling classes, the right of labor to its product, the right of the weak to succor, the right of man to life, liberty and happiness, the right of the despised and downtrodden workers to participate upon the terms of comradeship and co-operative equality in the administration of the affairs of society, this was the ethical code which gradually unfolded itself before the collective mind and conscience of the world's toilers.

The very growth in the dominion and power of a given ruling class, by throwing the inhabitants of widely separated regions and of widely separated branches of the human family together and by putting an end throughout a vast extent of territory to all mutual warlike activities, while crushing out all local, creedal, ethnic and linguistic differences and prejudices beneath the leveling weight of a common tyranny and system of exploitation, served to bring home to the minds of the subjected and oppressed classes and peoples their community and identity of interests and served to build up that sentiment of fellowship with and compassion for all of suffering humanity which is the essence of the higher morality and the foundation stone of the co-operative state.

An interesting example of this favorable ethical reaction upon the masses of mankind of the triumphant extension over a wide territory of the dominion and authority of a single power and of the consequent substitution among the subjugated populations of the sentiments suited to a life of peaceful industry for those adapted to the life of chronic war and mutual aggression is to be seen in the case of the Roman Empire, when the absorption of all the nations of the Western world under the rule of Rome led to the rise of Christianity, which at its inception was a purely humanitarian, proletarian and communistic movement though vitiated and soon turned out of its original course by the element of Messianism and general religious fanaticism with which it was associated. Under modern conditions of life, the

process of exploitation being no longer carried on by the military but by the economic subjugation of nations, the destruction of the economic independence of the working population means their withdrawal from the brutalizing strife and warfare of commercial competition, and in being thus confined to the sole economic function of the production of wealth while the capitalist class undertakes the labor and "risk" of its acquisition. Each member of the latter class succeeded in his self appointed task according to the degree of his guile, unscrupulousness and overbearing economic might. The ethical standard of the working class tends to become ever purer and more exalted. That of the capitalist class, the class whose entire revenue and possessions consist but of the unearned profit upon the unpaid labor of the workers, tends to fall to an ever lower level.

Again, with the spread of the modern industrial system to all parts of the world and the conversion of the workers of all countries into wage slaves of the international capitalist class, the ensuing world-wide class struggle, arising from the inherent and inextinguishable antagonism of interests between capital and labor and from the ceaseless encroachments of capital upon labor, and calling for the utmost strengthening of the forces of the working class, results in the sympathetic union and welcome admission upon equal terms into the organizations and federations of the laborers of all workers and bodies of workers without regard to distinctions of race, color, creed or nationality and in wholesome forgetfulness of all ancient misunderstandings and enmities.

Thus, the very process by which the workers are brought down to a position of hopeless economic inferiority to and abject dependence upon the ruling capitalist class tends to that gradual elevation of their moral standard and to the sharpening of their political vision whereby coming to recognize the injustice and inexpediency of all class rule, political oppression and ethnic discrimination they become fully fitted to undertake the mighty and gigantic task of the emancipation of their own class, and thereby, of the emancipation of humanity in general.

Turn which way we will, examine under any and every aspect the process of human development, on all sides we are met by multiplied and unmistakable evidence of the movement of the current of progress in the direction of the socialization of the race. For mankind now to stop short in its path of manifest destiny or to retrace the steps of its historic advance is as impossible as for the earth to stop short in its orbit or to change the direction of its orbital motion.

Socialism must come and is coming because otherwise history would be without meaning and all the long struggle and martyrdom of the ages would be in vain. It must come and is

coming as surely as the sun must rise in the morning dispelling the darkness of the night, as surely as the spring must come after the bleak and dreary winter. It is unthinkable that the final outcome and the climax of the age-long process of evolution is to be the creation of a race of "blonde beasts" having dominion, indeed, over the beasts of the field but also engaged in an eternal war for dominion over each other. Not by striving for mutual mastery will mankind attain in the highest measure the mastery of the earth and of the forces of nature.

Not by the narrow way of individualistic effort and private enterprise can the race achieve its grandest victories and rise to the highest pinnacle of its glorious possibilities. The future of man lies in co-operation. Co-operation is the key that will unlock the gates of the cosmos, that will uncover its mysteries and that will open up its hoarded treasures, and there are no gods in the skies above that can destroy the heaven scaling Tower of Babel which the co-operative sons of men shall come to build. Armed with the might of co-operation, man, myriad headed and myriad handed man, will rise to a higher plane of being, becoming as a new race, the co-operative race, sole heir to the wealth of the universe, sole claimant to the sovereignty of the worlds, master and architect of the destinies of his species and riding from victory to victory and from triumph to triumph. Having eaten of the wondrous fruit of the tree of co-operation, man will become as a god, knowing all the secrets of the universe, and there will be no bounds to his powers and achievements, and overcoming the limitations of his physical organism he will spurn the restraints of his terrestrial habitation and voyage to the conquest of the stars and constellations, defying the fury of the celestial maelstrom and fearlessly sailing through the wreckage of suns.

Such is the future, big with promise, sublime and immeasurably glorious, which the forces of evolution, working through all the long ages of the past, have been preparing for humanity. Shall we, the sons of men, grasp this heaven that is within our reach? Shall we accept this divine gift which the cosmos holds out to us? Shall we rise to the grandeur of our opportunity? Or shall we in this mighty test of our spiritual adolescence prove ourselves unworthy? Nor is it given us long to hesitate in our choice or to postpone our decision to some later occasion. There are critical moments in the life of a race as of an individual when one false step may lead to irretrievable disaster, and just as a healthy and beautiful infant may meet with disease, deformity or premature death, so, too, may growing society, normally destined to vigor and long life, succumb to parasitic enemies, crippling and dwarfing it and preventing its development.

There is, therefore, no time to be lost if we are to strive for



the coming of the day of emancipation, for however confident we may be of the ultimate triumph of the forces of justice and progress, yet the catastrophe of the postponement of the social revolution by it matters not how short a period, much more so by generations or by a whole historical epoch, is too terrible to contemplate. The destinies of countless millions yet unborn, and, in a measure not to be calculated, the destiny of humanity at large, rests upon the people of the present generation. It is for each of us to decide whether we shall act like men, worthy successors of those who in the past and at the price of their lives prepared for us our present measure of political and intellectual freedom; worthy successors of those who proclaimed it to be the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish their form of government when it could no longer secure their rights, or whether we shall act like slaves, unworthy of freedom, by refusing to raise a hand in our own deliverance. It is for each of us to decide whether our influence shall be cast for the system which strangles progress, breeding endless strife, hatred, misery and wrong; the system of inequality, injustice, wage slavery and all that is ugly, foul, sordid, and wretched; the system which debases and brutalizes, bringing down the many to poverty and destruction for the enrichment and aggrandizement of the few; the system which is responsible for nine-tenths of all the crime, vice, immorality, ignorance, drunkenness and degeneracy that we see around us, or whether our influence shall go forth to aid in the establishment of a new social order in which there shall be no slaves and no masters; no paupers and no millionaires; a social order in which none shall live without labor and in which none shall labor without obtaining his full and certain reward; a social order in which the interests of each shall be in perfect harmony with the interests of all; a social order which shall realize the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

RAPHAEL BUCK.

## An Endless Task.

I N "AN Endless Task," I compared Comrade Boudin's statements among themselves and showed that he was at variance with himself. I also compared his statements with the corresponding statements of Marx and showed that he had not, as he claimed, presented the Marxian theories according to Marx.

I claimed that he had given a confusing presentation of Marx's cost-price and price of production, that he had not presented the relation between the price of production and the average rate of profit in the same light as Marx, and that he had not made a clear distinction between Marx's ideal values and prices, the industrial price of production, the commercial price of production, and the actual prices paid for commodities.

In his reply, Comrade Boudin claims that I have attributed to him a position which he does not hold. That is easily possible, for it is hard to tell from his running comment on the vagaries of the Marx critics and from his own contradictions, just what position he *does* hold.

In one instance he summarizes a passage (p. 150) which he claims I summarized inaccurately. His summary, however, does not summarize the points on which we disagree, but only one point to which I have not raised any objection. The reader can easily locate this passage.

In another instance (p. 154), where the typesetter made a mistake and garbled a quotation of mine from Comrade Boudin's article, Comrade Boudin insinuates, that it was I who made this change in order to confuse the reader. This is typical of his method of controversy. I have no need of such tricks to make my points.

In this case I criticised Comrade Boudin's meaningless use of the terms "absolute." He makes me say that this term is absolutely meaningless. Here, and in other similar cases, his powers of analysis fail completely. I think the difference between *his* meaningless use of a term and the absolute meaninglessness of a term is so palpable that even a Marx critic might see it. However, our critic of Marx critics, usually so brilliant, goes all to pieces here and turns clownish somersaults between "absolute" and "relative."

Aside from other unwarranted personal insinuations, to which I will not pay any attention, Comrade Boudin meets my criticisms by attributing to me the very mistakes for which I

have criticised him. In this way he reduces the entire debate to the level of the ridiculous. If I have the discernment to distinguish between his intentions to represent Marx fairly and his inability to do so, it is not likely that I should make this very same mistake while I am criticising him. This is simply another declaration of mental poverty on his part.

Comrade Boudin puts the reader under the impression, that I regard Marx's theory of value as inconsistent, and that I charge Marx with the same incongruities which the revisionists claim to have discovered. This is pure assumption on Comrade Boudin's part. I hold that Marx's theory of value is consistent and sustained throughout all three volumes of "Capital." In volumes I and II, Marx developed his theory under assumed ideal conditions, and in volume III he applied the results of his abstract analyses to the actual conditions of capitalist competition. I do not disagree with Marx, but with Comrade Boudin. I do not claim that Marx is inconsistent, but that Comrade Boudin, in his efforts to defend the consistency of Marx's theory of value, makes it look inconsistent. Here we find him again displaying the same impotence of analytical grasp, which I have just exposed. There is method in this madness.

It would be useless to continue the discussion on the present basis. So long as neither Comrade Boudin nor myself have stated their own positions in a connected form, we might continue debating till doomsday, and no reader would know what we are talking about.

I have fully stated my own conception of Marxian economic theories in my work on "Marxian Economics," which Comrade Kerr will publish in a short while. I will refer the readers of this magazine to that work.

In reply to my criticism of his position on the role of the individual in historical materialism, Comrade Boudin says that this is a very important point and complains about the limited space which I devote to it. Well, I could not get the whole REVIEW for my reply to him. And this is so important a point that I preferred to content myself with a mere hint and reserve it for separate discussion at some other opportunity. The fact is, this is a point which has never been fully cleared by discussion in socialist literature. Comrade Boudin's quotation from Kautsky (p 157) is very nice, only it does not apply to me. I guess I can distinguish between the *actions* of individuals and the *views* of whole classes without the aid of Comrade Boudin, whose powers of distinction, as we have just seen, are not very remarkable. What does such a random quotation amount to, anyway? If Comrade Boudin quotes Comrade Kautsky to the effect that "the materialist conception of history does not always explain to us



the necessity of each individual action, although it recognizes it," someone else might quote another random passage, in which Comrade Kautsky says that "the laws of social science are found by mass observations and apply only to mass phenomena," (*Neue Zeit*, XXIV, No. 50, p. 783). Neither passage would be necessarily in contradiction with my claim that individual actions must be explained by historical materialism as well as mass actions. This sort of quotation is too childish to merit any serious consideration.

However, it is very likely that there is a difference of opinion between Comrade Kautsky and myself on this point. How serious a difference I do not know as yet as we have never discussed it. It would not be very strange if there were such disagreement. For Comrade Kautsky has devoted his life almost exclusively to the economic and historical side of Marxism, and at that only to the sociological parts in the strict meaning, while my own specialties, even in school, have been the theory of cognition, physiological psychology, and philosophy which I have studied in their relations to Marxism ever since I became a socialist.

But Comrade Boudin is mistaken, if he thinks that any difference of opinion between Comrade Kautsky and myself would show what my "so-called support of Marxian theories really amounts to." I think I can disagree with Comrade Kautsky and still be a Marxian and a supporter of Marxian theories. Yes, I might even disagree with Marx and come to such a disagreement by means of Marxian methods and in support of Marxian theories.

So far as there is any real difference between Comrade Kautsky and myself, on this point, I hope it will be discussed when my study of "The Will Problem" will appear which is almost completed.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

## The Rising Star of H. Huntington Moreland.

"DEVIL of a fix I'm in," growled Jack Lester out of his wrath and vexation before an audience of seven stalwart men who had assembled in the corner saloon for the usual Saturday night meeting. "Devil of a fix I'm in. I've worked in the shops here for twenty years, and, saving my wages, have put quite a little money into the place where I'm living. And now just when the house has become mine and that five acre lot next to it, they've got to up and move the shops to a place a hundred miles east of here, cuss 'em. What good's the home to me now? Won't rent for anything in Millford with empty houses all over the city."

"Pretty tough," broke in Tad Wilkins, "but remember, a good many of us are in the same fix, old man. The boys was countin' up tonight on the way home from work, and they figgered fifty out of the two hundred of us that own our homes. You've got plenty of comp'ny in your misery, if that helps any."

"I shay-(hic)-fel-lowsh," put in Mike Donovan who had again started out on a drunken spree, "tell you whash lesh do,-(hic)-lesh tell zshe mayor,-(hic)-zshe mayor write,-(hic)-make zshe comp-(hic)-ny keep zshe contrack. (Pause). Aw naw (hic). Who caresh? T'Hell wish shopsh-(hic) enn 'way. 'S have nuzzsher drink."

Mike's latter words were irrelevant and so received no serious attention from the crowd but the main part of his remarks was picked up by those present.

"The mayor's written," said Jack, "reminded the Central that when the city gave the grounds to the railroad thirty years ago, it did so under a contract which made it clear that the shops should always remain here. He ain't got a reply yet from the company and he won't get one either. The repairing is going to Wheelington. The shops there will be enlarged. A hundred men from this place will move there and the rest of us will be up against it. We'll be here without jobs."

The closing of the Central railroad's repair shops was the last in a series of industrial disasters which had in ten years reduced Millford from a thriving little manufacturing centre of twelve thousand to a town of barely six thousand inhabitants. Fifteen years ago it had had a casket factory employing one hundred men. The "trust," as people in the little town said, had bought up the flourishing little business and the hundred

employees and their families had been forced to move to larger cities.

Millford had had a school seat factory from which throughout the entire four seasons year after year had rung out the buzzing metallic cry of the ceaselessly whirling saws. The city had given this industry a \$7,000 bonus on the start, beside remitting the taxes for twelve years. But the doors of the factory had been closed and forever. Bullward, promoter and president, who had, in return for throwing his "experience" into the business, secured at the start controlling interest in the concern, about two years ago had sold himself to the school seat trust and was, according to generally accepted report, being paid a handsome salary to keep his factory closed.

Millford had had its breakfast food factories, too, — four of them. Hastily organized companies had started out boldly on the open sea of industrial life, confident of success. Hundreds of thousands of dollars had been spent in advertising the "sawdust" products which had been turned out in hastily constructed factories employing a few dozen men and about two hundred half-paid girls. But the crash had come shortly and now the factory buildings stood there in the city empty.

In like manner had others of the town's industries disappeared, leaving the little centre financially crippled. Beside all this the rise of the Chicago mail order houses had worked their injuries with increasing effectiveness. Within the past ten years their business had steadily grown in the farming community about Millford.

At first the Millford merchants had laughed good naturedly at the idea that the competition of the catalogue firm would hurt their business. That was before free rural mail delivery had been established. Now, however, they fairly went blue in the face with rage at the mere mention of the name, mail order house. About five years ago Tilford James, clothier, Josiah Greene, shoe retailer, and Matthew Elston, hardware dealer, had become conscious of the new competition and had worked a remedy for the threatened condition of greatly reduced sales of the farming community.

"Here's what we must do to kill this thing," said Tilford James to the other two on the way home from lodge meeting one night. "Use the local press, — the weekly papers. Begin a campaign of education on the subject of mail order goods and keep it up everlastingly. Don't fail to present every possible argument in favor of supporting the local retail trade, — better goods, no deception, local merchant pays taxes for local schools, employes clerk help, etc."

"You're right," had asserted Josiah Greene, "Tomorrow let's



get together and plan a series of articles for the News and the Chronicle."

And the three taking upon themselves the responsibilities of a campaign in behalf of Millford merchants had kept the editorial columns of the two local papers hot with arguments against the mail order house for about a year. Then, disheartened, they gave up the struggle. The community, after being "educated," was still buying its cheaper clothing, stoves and shoes by catalogue. Of course, James, Greene, and Elston had concluded that human beings were mostly either knaves or fools.

But bad as the competition of the mail order house had been for the merchants of Millford, they had found a little later a worse enemy in a new combination of industrial forces accompanying progress. This combination had consisted of a splendidly constructed and equipped interurban electric railroad and an enormous department store in Jackson fifteen miles away, said department store being connected with Millford by said interurban line. For almost six months after the first car had run between the two cities the well-to-do ladies of Millford had continued to patronize the local merchants exclusively, not being aware of the fact that at the other end of a pleasant ride might be found an almost endless variety of "bargains,"—in fact a "perfectly delightful hour of shopping in the city." But on the very first evening of the first week of the seventh month this most welcome fact had been brought to their consciousness with unexpected suddenness. When they had picked up their local papers after supper on that night, in both Chronicle and News full page ads standing out in big black letters had struck their eyes with telling force. A new world for the aspiring femininity of Millford to conquer! "Go to Murdison's for bargains. Don't miss the big sale May 5th and 6th. They go at reduced prices,—silk petticoats, silk shirt waists, elegant oriental rugs and carpets, etc." And May 5th and 6th a goodly number of Millford ladies had attended the sale.

Well, this was the reason for the department store invasion. Editor Conrad of the News and Editor Johnston of the Chronicle had failed of late years to secure the advertising patronage they believed they were entitled to in the little town and had in their mutual soreness temporarily suspended hostilities with each other to come secretly together and talk over the local situation thoroughly. They decided that they would be justified in taking up Jackson advertising as a means to getting the local merchants to "shell out," to "wake up" and to try to "draw business into the city." And so during the first week in May, they boldly crossed the Rubicon, so to speak, rendering themselves in the

eyes of the Millford merchant class traitors to the community in which they lived.

It was shortly after the closing of the railway repair shops that the bright star of H. Huntington Moreland flashed brilliantly across the horizon of Millford, disappearing shortly, however, but only to rise immediately and shine with more constancy and greater brilliancy on a larger industrial world.

H. Huntington Moreland was, when he first stepped foot in Millford, some six years previous to the time with which we are now dealing, a young traveling salesman, fluent and smooth of speech, persuasive, with much promise of developing into a mighty competent all-around business man. True to indications he did so develop and during his six years of travel in Michigan territory he got a good unrelaxing clutch on all the business in sight. But H. Huntington sighed for larger worlds to conquer. He wanted to get off the road and into some business that would offer an opportunity for advancement along executive lines. And so when H. Huntington Moreland, being keen of insight and not overly scrupulous of morals, felt that opportunity was about to knock at his door one evening in Millford in the form of a magnificent graft, he prepared to welcome her. In such right royal fashion did he welcome her that she, being very much pleased, fairly deluged him with favors.

It happened this way: H. Huntington Moreland had invited his customer, Josiah Greene, and Greene's two friends, Tilford James and Matthew Elston over to a late evening spread at the hotel at which he was stopping. He had just wound up an eloquent speech in favor of the formation of business men's associations in the smaller towns in somewhat the following fashion: "They're all coming to it, gentlemen. They have to organize for aggressive campaigns if they want to continue their existence—these smaller towns. Look at Charlottesville, Climax, Three Waters and South Leroy. All of them have business men's organizations which have come into existence within the last two years. The merchants there are prepared to labor for a brighter industrial future for their cities. They've set right to work to bring industries and business into their cities and keep them there when they've once got them. Time will prove the wisdom of their course of action. Yes, it costs. There's an expense attached to it, but these towns are shrewd enough to see that they can't get something for nothing. And they know that some effort has got to be made and that soon."

Well, that night after the three had left H. Huntington Moreland, they discussed the subject at hand in all of its bearings.

"We've got to do something," was Greene's conclusion, "or we'll be totally a town of the past."

"Moreland would be the right man to put in charge of the association," Tilford James had admitted, "but wouldn't he come a little high at two thousand a year?"

"We can afford the price," Elston had answered, "if the work will show results, — if we can only get the factories here, if we can do things. I for one am in favor of launching the association. I believe with Moreland at the helm it will have a most successful career."

And so in the course of a month, due to the efforts of James, Elston and Greene the Millford Business Men's Association was an organized fact. Six thousand dollars had been subscribed among thirty odd merchants and placed in the treasury and H. Huntington Moreland had been unanimously elected secretary of the organization with a salary of \$3,000 a year.

It is not necessary to relate in detail the history of that momentous year following the organization of the association. Suffice it to characterize the period as one of high hopes that were early doomed to disappointment, — of reckless dreams that were never to be realized. The local papers had been swung into line and every other issue had contained fanciful tales about this and that capitalist that was interested in Millford's industrial advantages and would surely bring such and such a business to the town before the year was over. All this made good copy for the papers, the people reading it with avidity and discussing "prospects" with much eagerness in stores and on street corners. Many words of praise were spoken for H. Huntington Moreland. "An energetic fellow," was the statement generally passed around, "He'll land something for us before long."

Meanwhile Moreland was drawing his comparatively generous monthly stipend and was making a thorough study of industrial conditions in Millford and the neighboring city of Jackson, — to serve his own individual purposes. He had noted the similarity in fundamental processes between a manufacturing institution in Jackson and one in Millford and was quietly arming himself with facts and figures.

At the end of the year Millford found itself in the same circumstances as at the beginning, — save for this important difference. The one growing industry in the town, — an industry that had been for the past three years constantly reaching out for a wider market for its product, a well-known cement block machine, and was employing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men at high wages, had been snatched utterly without warning away from the town. A consolidation had been effected between this concern and a Jackson foundry and the reorganized



company was building a new plant in the larger city. H. Huntington Moreland who had promoted the deal had suddenly resigned his position as secretary of the Millford Business Men's Association and in triumph had accepted the secretaryship of the consolidated company which had been tendered him out of appreciation for the invaluable services he had rendered.

For a full year thereafter the Millford papers continued to attack the erstwhile head of the Millford Business Men's Association through their columns as an "unprincipled scoundrel," a "vile ingrate" and an "abominable traitor."

But not in the least did this abuse tend to dim the luster of the star of H. Huntington Moreland which was rising high above the horizon of the industrial life of Jackson in ever increasing brilliancy.

R. W. BOROUGH.

## The Philosophy of Socialism.

WHILE socialists have often pointed out that their doctrines constituted a cosmic philosophy, yet this philosophy has never been elaborated to any extent. With the appearance of the works of Joseph Dietzgen we have the foundation of a really philosophical view of the world from the socialist standpoint.

The introductory essay to the present work is by Dr. Anton Pannekoek and is a discussion of the position and significance of Dietzgen's philosophical work. This work is the natural outcome of the same industrial revolution which produced the economics of socialism, and Dietzgen is shown to be, equally with Marx, in a direct line of descent with Hegel, Kant and the bourgeois philosophers, exactly in the same way as socialism is the legitimate child of capitalism.

"It is the merit of Dietzgen to have raised philosophy to the position of a natural science, the same as Marx did with history. The human faculty of thought is thereby stripped of its fantastic garb. It is regarded as a part of nature, and by means of experience a progressive understanding of its concrete and ever changing historical nature must be gained."

The central thought of Dietzgen's work is to be found in his idea of a complete and eternal unity of all things. Thought, the foundation of the brain, the active cognition, — all these that had been looked upon by bourgeois philosophers as more or less in the light of transcendental or supernatural phenomena, are now restored to the world of actual fact. For him the absolute, truth, God, all equal the universe, the whole of things. While thought itself is a phenomenon composed of "a sum of attributes collected by brain processes," yet it has for its field the entire universe outside of itself. It does not of course take these things into itself in their actual form; with but only their images, their general outlines; this material then makes up the stuff upon which the brain works. While this material is universal, its apprehension and treatment are always relative, consequently nothing is "reasonable and practical" for all men at all times and under all conditions.

This same relativity holds true of mortality. Dietzgen sums up his definition of mortality as follows:

"Mortality is the aggregate of the most contradictory ethical laws which serve the common purpose of regulating the conduct of man toward himself and others in such a way that the future

is considered as well as the present, the one as well as the other, the individual as well as the genus. The individual man finds himself lacking, inadequate, limited in many ways. He requires for his complement other people, society, and must therefore live and let live. The mutual concessions which arise out of these relative needs are called morality."

It will be noted that in this concept he lacks the idea of social progress which is now generally accepted by socialist writers on ethics, his being rather a static than a dynamic view. In regard to this morality he accepts and justifies the so-called Jesuitic maxim that "The End Sanctifies the Means." The only and sole absolute aim is human welfare and it is an end which sanctifies all rules and actions, all means, so long as they are subservient to it, but reviles it as soon as they go their own way without serving it. . . . No means, no action is positively sanctified or aims for human welfare under all circumstances. According to circumstances and relations one and the same means may be good or bad. A thing is good only to the extent that its results are good, only to the extent that there is good in its aim.

Over and over again the author repeats the central thought that all things are one and that "although we cannot get a true picture of universal truth, yet we can obtain clear pictures of individual truth; in other words we can picture the infinite in its parts. Under these conditions knowledge is simply classification. The red thread winding through all these letters deals with the following points. The instrument of thought is a thing like all other common things, a part or attribute of the universe. It belongs particularly to the general category of Being and is an apparatus which produces a detailed picture of human experience by categorical classification of distinctions.

"And now we come to the moral of it all. The human reason, the special object of logical research, partakes of the nature of the universe. It is nothing in itself. As an isolated being, it is wholly void and incapable of producing any understanding or knowledge. Only in connection, not merely with the material brain, but with the entire universe, is the intellect capable of existing and acting. It is not the mere brain which thinks, but the whole man is required for that purpose; and not man alone, but the total interrelation with the universe is necessary for the purpose of thinking. Reason itself reveals no truths. The truths which are revealed to us by means of reason are revelations of the general nature of the absolute universe."

In this view of science that all knowledge is classification, the author points out the interesting fact that the old "museum scientists" classified their facts in space only, while the scientists of evolution added the category of time. A. M. SIMONS.



## A Dialogue.

"What are their fine philosophies to proletarians who are forced to sell themselves for a living to the nearest master? What are the great ideals of human minds to those whose thoughts are bound for life to the animal plane of daily cares? In the land of want, the stomach rules the human soul. In the land of slavery, all emblems of freedom are a cruel mockery to the slaves."

*From Comrade Ernest Untermann's essays "The World Process."*

SOUL.

I'm starving and starving and starving to death!  
I'm groping for room and I'm gasping for breath!  
I'm pleading for life in a bountiful world,  
To use, just a little, the wings that are furled!

BODY.

I'm bound to the wheels of a terrible car;  
I'm broken and faint with the wound and the scar;  
I've worked and I've worked through the days and the years,  
And now, O my Soul, I can give you but tears!

SOUL.

Our interdependence, my body, is this:  
I drive you to death and you keep me from bliss!  
I strive with the strength of infinite might  
To light up the temple I hold for a night!

BODY.

The intricate threads of our destiny twined,  
Entangled and twisted, no hand can unwind;  
And they who would save you and leave me to die,  
In wisdom's unwisdom are preaching a lie.

SOUL.

And why, in a world that is lavishly filled,  
Should you, who are master of nature, be killed?  
The fruit of the earth it was planted to give  
The body the means that the spirit might live.

BODY.

The fruit is another's, the water and wine;—  
In all of the earth there is nothing that is mine!  
You ask me for bread and I give you a stone,—  
The emblem of all that the workers now own.

SOUL.

And why should we live like a beast in a pen  
When labor is feeding the masters of men?  
Awaken! Awaken! With your brothers unite,  
And march with the soul on the fortress of Night!

BODY.

The preachers have told and the statesmen have said,  
That he who dares to touch it, that instant is dead!  
I fear and I tremble,—'twere better to die  
Than prove that the priesthood had uttered a lie.

SOUL.

O fool in your folly! let be with such cries!  
Unravel your brain and unfasten your eyes!  
But use for a moment the gifts of the gods,  
And shake from your shoulders the burden of clods!

BODY.

I see! O I see! What a wonderful place!  
What a beautiful world! What an infinite space!  
O soul of my soul! — O my brothers, unite!  
And march with the soul on the fortress of Night!

SOUL.

The worker! The worker! He's risen at last!  
The day is at hand and the darkness is past!  
I'm fastened no more to a pitiful slave —  
I'm master of earth and the lord of the grave!

COVINGTON HALL.

## Religion, Education and Monopoly.

ONE of the many accusations that it is possible to bring against present system is that under its rule Religion and Education, instead of being used to uplift the masses of the people, are used to keep them ignorant of their conditions, and of the position that they rightfully should occupy. It is not that we would accuse Religion itself of having lower ideals than it has held in the past; not that, for undoubtedly religious ideas have developed and grown with the race. The ideals of the average Christian are in all probability a trifle higher than those of the savage hordes, who came out of Asia, and like a great tidal wave, inundated western Europe; and if they exercise those ideals only once a week, on Sundays, shall we blame them, or shall we not also "go and do likewise"? The man with the highest ideals is quite likely to wrap them up in oil-cloth for future reference, if there be a chance for a deal or a swap; and if he belong to a corporation, lo! "the wind bloweth over them, and the place thereof knows them no more."

But if religion is a growth, so also is its monopoly. There have been times in history when the tree of monopoly in religion has grown so large that it has become necessary for someone to lop off some of the branches and start a tree of their own; of course, the monopolists have deprived many of them of their heads, eyes, ears, noses, etc., but they have invariably returned the compliment at the first opportunity.

Religion has always had great power over men. Man is the animal that thinks; but when things get beyond the grasp of his thinkery he is very apt to bow down and worship. Thus, there was a time when man worshiped every tree and bush, the storm, the sun, the moon, and different animals, later on he lumped things of the same variety together and gave each lump a god. This was when he had learned to group himself into little cliques or clans, each group having its own little special god who fought with and for them. He was a very good duplicate of themselves, and he usually had a very devil of a temper; if you dared to disagree with him he wiped you off the slate, or his priests did it for him, which amounted to the same thing: you got wiped.

I understand that in some remote regions of the world such gods still exist.

Later on down the calendar, after the groups had accomplished the gastronomic feat of swallowing each other one by one, Rome came along and swallowed all the rest, just as Moses'



walking stick swallowed the serpents of the Egyptian magicians and priests. Then, Rome having conquered the entire known world and proved herself mistress of the world, the world finding it possible to have one world-wide power, abolished the idea of many gods and accepted the rule of the Hebrew God, and incidentally the Hebrew devil; just to account for the bad things in the world. Man had always had to fight with hand and brain against the beasts, against other men, and against the elements, and, of course, could not conceive of anything but strife; so naturally God had to have the devil to fight.

But what most strikes one in studying this development is the tremendous power of the priests. They were the deputy-sheriffs of the God, great or small, whom they served, and they always carried a whole armory of anathemas, curses, bulls, and such other small ammunition as they thought might prove useful. For many centuries they and their gods or god were quite the cock of the walk, ruling kings and princes as well as ordinary mortals made from common clay with a mere bend of the little finger. But gradually king and priest got quite mixed up, till finally a king here and there grew rich and powerful enough to successfully defy the priest. Thus Henry VIII. of England defied the pope and helped himself to the riches of the monasteries. Finally the priests made a compromise with the ruling class. The king and nobles were to support the priests, and in return, the priest, who was the educator as well as a monk, agreed to support the ruling class by every means in his power. So the ruling class skins the dear public, presumably for the good of their souls; for everyone knows that heaven is only for the poor people, only such of the rich as are able to squeeze through the eye of a needle, being allowed to enter. But probably quite a few will get in. They are used to getting through tight places, and they have a way of crawling around the wall of the law that to a disinterested spectator is truly marvelous. For my own part, I quite expect to see Mr. Rockefeller there, and before many years are past he will probably have a corner on spirits—but this is a digression; however, it is kind of them to run such a risk in order to assure us eternal bliss.

Lately the priest has lost his job as educator; but the game goes on just the same. The teacher and scientist holds his job at the will of the ruling class, and he walks very carefully, well within the limits of the "straight and narrow way." If he gets too inquisitive about what is over the wall, well! he finds himself swinging a pick to the tune of a dollar and a half a day, or he quickly gets back into line. Besides, the trust prints the books, and so has a lead-pipe cinch on what the children are to learn. So, with education or schooling limited in most cases to the years

between six and fifteen, and religion made a matter for Sundays and evenings, while priest, king, president, politician, business man and laborer engage in the universal game of grab, why knowledge and truth take a seat very much in the background.

But what are we going to do about it? While monopoly lasts, while it is possible for one man or a small clique of men to monopolize or control interests or things which concern all the people, religion and education will be a farce to the worker. He will not go to church when in that one place he is made to feel the inferiority of his position more than in any other; especially when he is told that it is God's will that he lost his job, and his wife and children have not enough to eat, to wear, and little or no education. It is an insult added to injury which he will not stand or sit quietly under.

Again, he cannot go to school, or send his children there; it takes the combined efforts of man, wife and children to keep enough stew in the pot; it is no magic pot like the widow's cruse, but takes long hours of weary toil to fill it. What education he does obtain is so mixed up with admonitions to be good and give due respect to his betters (aside from the fact that it is mostly composed of directions as to the best way to get the advantage of the other fellow) that it is no wonder that it generally does very little good either to the individual or to the people at large, but only serves to accentuate the struggle that is at present the dominant note of the age.

In a piece of music it very often happens that near the close of the piece, or one of its parts, there occurs a long series of chords which in themselves are apparently good, but inasmuch as below them all there is held from bar to bar a continued or pedal note, which is the dominant note of the tonic or original key, while they are in an entirely different key, the result is often very harsh; but finally they resolve into the chord of the dominant and so back to harmony and peace. So, nowadays, such a passage is occurring in the great world symphony. We have wandered far away from the true key, the original motive is apparently forgotten, and the ear is almost shattered by the succession of harsh chords that are now resounding. Chief among these, from out of which all the rest grow, is the chord of the great struggle, founded on the dominant note of the key of strife, the key in which we live; while, sometimes sobbing, sometimes wailing, often rising to a shriek, and again filled with a threat, rises and falls the chord of poverty, now loud and defiant and now again a cry of utter helplessness and hopelessness; and jarring through it all rings out the chord of the rich, of those that have won in the fight, the chord of monopoly, the chord of heedless inconsequence; full of the jeer and the gibe of the ignor-

ant victor, the clash of the wine-cup, the laughter and joy of those who eat and drink and are merry in a house built on a slumbering but active volcano. Here and there sounds out a snatch of lovely melody, the laugh of merry children, the songs of happy birds, the hum of the machines, and ever and anon we hear the solemn chant rise through the crash and turmoil from out of some cloistered monastery or great high-spired cathedral where men keep up a mockery of what was once religion. But high above them all sounds out the crashing chord of strife, which hounds us on to struggle for our life and brings out all the evil thoughts that man is heir to.

Yet deep below, full-chested, strong and clear, sounds out the pedal note, the cry "Co-operate," the dominant of the true key, the slogan of the Socialist. Solid it sounds from bar to bar, from year to year, full with a sense of peace, great with the strength of justice and truth, strong with the power of love. It only seems to add to, to accentuate the discords crashing round and yet it holds the ear. Swelling from eight million throats, with all the power of the universe behind it, it gradually dominates the harmonies that crash above, bends them, draws them down, rises and permeates them until at last they turn and rush through the dominant chord of the original key, through "Co-operation" back to the original key: the key of Brotherhood.

HUBERT WHITEHEAD.



## The Cry of Freedom.

O Comrades, you who feel bold tyrant's hands  
Upon your backs with throbs of pain,  
Who bend and break beneath despot's commands,  
And toil for ages for their gain,—  
O you whose brows are bleeding with red blood  
For all the world are crowned with thorns,  
Whose hearts through suffering ages ached and bled,  
For whom the God of pity mourns,—  
How long, how long, shall we submit like slaves,  
Be driven by the scorpion rod  
And rank and strain and labor to our graves—  
How long, how long, how long—Great God!

Imbruted by the toil of many years,  
A loathsome, dead, uncanny thing,  
His poor mind haunted with dark dreads and fears,  
—He cannot laugh, nor smile, nor sing—  
The toiler of the world plods on and toils,  
His voice grown dumb no more complains;  
The Master Tyrant follows and despoils  
And thrives on these ill-gotten gains  
From centuries, from night to morn, from morn  
To weary night again he drags  
His faltering form—the tyrant's lofty scorn  
Leers at his hunger and his rags.

No souls has this—of earth it is. No more  
On pinions bright its souls soars high;  
No more its ardent spirit can adore  
The glories of the earth and sky.  
Debased, his aim's to feed, and breed, and drink—  
With mind unstirred by gloom or glee—  
O God, this has no power to feel, to think—  
Can this an image be of Thee?  
O Comrades, is this then our future fate—  
This creature with the sodden brain?  
Shall we dream on until it is too late,  
The prices of the tyrants' gain?

Ah, have you never seen your children moan,  
And wailing die of pain and cold?  
Or heard your loved ones with fierce hunger groan  
In agonies and pains untold?  
Has destitution's stinging whip ne'er lashed  
And cut and stung and made you bend?  
Have tribulation and despair ne'er crashed  
Upon your souls as if to rend  
You into atoms of fierce discontent,  
That raging mad and wild desire  
Throughout the firmament to spread dissent  
And Revolution hot as fire,

Will we be shackled slaves, and only whine  
And fret about our right and wrong?  
Or freeborn men, shall not our weapons shine  
And go to fight with hearty song!  
Away with Law—Law partial and unfair  
By which the despot's will is done!  
Our hope it is to be free—free as the air—  
Free as the sunlight of the sun.  
Shall we submit, or shall we not prevail?  
Of God in heaven we question Thee?  
Again we shout—we know we shall not fail—  
Our Nation must and shall be free!

T. EVERETT HARRY.

# EDITORIAL

## The General Strike.

Back and forth swings the pendulum. To suggest a general strike as a part of socialist tactics five years ago would have been to arouse scoffs and sneers in most of the divisions of the international socialist movement. Then came Russia and the apparent success of these tactics. Two or three other countries had also tried the general strike, with a more or less limited success. The result was a wave of enthusiasm in favor of the general strike until it came to be looked upon as a short cut in social evolution. Even Germany was carried along in this wave, and last year at Jena adopted a resolution which was commonly felt to imply a threat to adopt the general strike as a part of the general tactics of the German Social Democracy. Then the *Syndicalists* of France and Italy and the little bunch of *Impossibilists* in Germany, with a few fanatics in this country went crazy on the subject and talked such a mass of nonsense as to arouse a reaction. The result of this is seen in the adoption by the last German congress of a much more conservative resolution concerning the general strike, and a general tendency in Europe to go back to the old position. However, as has often been noticed, the pendulum never swings quite back to the original position and it is sufficient to say that the general strike will never be banished from the armory of socialism. It will take its place as one of the weapons to be used when the special circumstance for which it is suited demands it.

\* \* \*

## Need of Organization.

The one lesson which has been most emphatically preached by the campaign which has just ended was the need of better organization of the socialist forces.

The work of education, or at least of agitation has run far ahead of the organization of the Socialist Party. The whole country has been "going to school to socialism" during the past year. Socialism



has become the "livest" topic for lecturers, writers and all those who are seeking to attract public attention. We have been longing for this stage for many years. Now it is here, it is for us to use it.

The reason for this condition is found largely in the fact that the forces of agitation, and to some extent those of education, are to a great degree inherent in the progress of capitalism. Socialists have always recognized this since Marx first observed that the capitalists are their own grave diggers. So it is that the propaganda of socialism has become an almost automatic reaction from capitalism. The process of concentration and exploitation carries with it a course of elementary lessons in socialist philosophy which he who lives within the scope of that process must read.

As every other avenue of reaction is closed the literature of revolt is forced to rest more and more upon the basis of socialist philosophy. So it has come about that great masses of the population are beginning to think in a crude way with the premises of socialism as a party of their psychology.

Newspaper and magazine writers speak glibly of a "government by interests," all unconscious, in a majority of cases that they are using the very language of the classics of socialism. The presses of the world have poured forth hundreds of volumes during the last few years based upon a crude conception of the materialistic interpretation of history. Yet many of their writers never heard the name of the philosophy which they unconsciously use—and often abuse. Fewer still have risen to a recognition of the fact that a logical consequence of the acceptance of that philosophy is the recognition of the class struggle, the domination of the proletariat, and consequently the whole socialist program.

With many of these persons this failure to proceed to the logical conclusions is due to their own ignorance. For that ignorance the socialists of this country are partially to blame. It indicates some loop hole in their work of education and agitation that these who are seeking for light have not perceived it.

Wherever there is ignorance there are always those who seek to fatten upon it. Nowhere is this more true than in the field of political action. With such a tremendous stake to be played for as the surplus value produced by a world of wage-slaves it is certain that every advantage will be sought for and played to the utmost. It is, of course, upon this blind unconscious revolt, and partial understanding of socialism that Hearst and his like are trading. Another outgrowth of the same forces is the Gompersian political tactics. Millions of laborers have proceeded to the point where they understand the necessity of working-class political action. They have not yet learned that to be effective, working-class politics must be based upon working class principles. Hence they can still be forced to turn the political mills of their oppressors if they are only blinded with a triflingly different bandage.

While all this growth of sentiment has been to a certain extent an automatic reflex from capitalism, the Socialist Party grows only through conscious intelligent effort. It does not come of itself. Yet by just so far as that organization falls behind the growth of socialist sentiment will that sentiment express itself, as undirected sentiment has always done in wild vagaries, and be used to grind the grist of capitalism. Unorganized socialist sentiment is like steam while it is still in the boiler—liable to either escape uselessly into the atmosphere, or even to blow the whole works up with an explosion. The Socialist Party organization is the engine that puts the sentimental steam at work and compels it to perform the task of freeing the workers.

The ineffectiveness of this organization has been seen during the past campaign not only in the various freak movements that have exploited forces that belonged of right to socialism, but also, to a certain extent by the ineffective application of what forces were at the disposal of the party. The improvement in the management of the campaign has presented a great advance over previous years. Yet it left much to be desired. It was impossible to focus efforts where they were needed in any such thoroughly effective way as a better organization would have made possible. Literature and speakers were constantly handicapped by a lack of the organized machinery which would have multiplied their effect many fold.

One of the handicaps under which the socialists of this country labor, which is not suffered by the socialists of other countries, is that the trade union movement is still largely dominated by capitalism. In Belgium, Germany, Denmark, and indeed a majority of the other countries of the world, to say trade unionist is to say socialist, and it goes without saying that wherever the economic organization can be used to further the interest of the political movement it can and will be used. Just how long this condition will continue here, and when the members of the organizations of laborers will insist that the machinery of their organization shall not be used to injure the political interests of those members, cannot be foretold with any certainty at the present moment. There are signs of change that promise much for the future, but the future like the past is not with us now, and we must deal with what we have—the present.

These facts render the burdens, responsibilities and duties of the political organization of even greater importance in the United States than in countries where a portion of the work which the party must do here is performed by the economic organizations.

The next two years will make peculiarly pressing demands upon the machinery of the Socialist Party. The way in which it meets those demands will decide its entire future. It may decide much of the whole course of future evolution in the next decade of United States history.

A confused Hearst movement can side-track the revolutionary

energy of the nation only in case the Socialist Party proves to be incapable of meeting the emergency of the next twelve months. At present Hearst possesses no national organization. He is little more than a howl. It is difficult for him to crystallize that howl into an organization outside of the few weeks of a campaign, because he must depend upon workers who expect a reward in solid currency or in the immediate prospect of the spoils of office.

It is the boast of the Socialist Party that it keeps up a continuous campaign. If it makes good on that boast during the next year the Hearst ghost will be laid, and it is within the bounds of possibility that the Socialist Party will move up to second place in the line of political parties struggling for power.

To accomplish this will require strenuous efforts. Organization is a business proposition and not sentimental enthusiasm. A definite plan of campaign for organizing work must be elaborated by national, state and local organizations. Special funds must be raised for this one purpose. Special literature must be prepared of a distinctly different character from that suited for the work of agitation.

Men must be secured who are not agitators but organizers, and who can carry out a definite plan of work. They must not be sent on one night soap box stands through the country, but must proceed steadily from definite centers, and remain in each locality until they have accomplished the work assigned them.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## RUSSIA.

That Russia is in an actual state of civil war in which the battles have an extremely high casualty list is seen by the fact that a Russian paper estimates that, during the year 1906, 14,130 persons have been killed in massacres, 900 have been executed under the forms of law and 19,524 have been wounded. This is the casualty list on the side of the people. But the government has not escaped without losses. The same paper estimates that of government officials, 720 persons have been killed and 810 wounded.

Further word has just been received concerning the exiling of Deutsch and "Parvus", by the Russian government. These two men have long been known as among the ablest writers and workers in the international socialist movement. Both were living in Germany at the outbreak of the Russian revolution, and both returned to their native country to assist in the the battle for freedom. They were exiled to the extreme north of Siberia under the Arctic circle. With twenty-six other exiles they were crowded into the foul hold of a freight ship leaving Nijn i Novogorod, for Turuchanski, the place of their exile. The well-known writer Tann was a prisoner at this same place for eight years and a half and in his story "Oko" he has told something of its horrors. He says "Fifty of us were huddled together in a half ruined house. Clothing and fuel were both scant to the point where freezing was always threatened. Eternal hunger ruled over us. Rye meal cost forty kopeks a pound and the exiles ate decayed fish, and frozen raw meat, with occasional fresh frozen fish. But when all was combined there was always too little. When the dogs died of hunger they too were devoured. I once tore the leather hinges from the door and for two days lived upon the soup which we made from them." Into this polar inferno Parvus and Deutsch are now going.

\* \* \*

Famine rules in Russia. The measureless sweeps of land of the Russian kingdom have been given over to misery. Thirty-three provinces have been affected by the failure of the crops, a number greater than any previous crop failure has affected in Russia. The number of starving cannot be given with any accuracy but there is no doubt that it reaches high into the millions. In the province of Ufa alone over 1,200,000 starving have already registered their names in application for relief, and in the province of Vladimir registers have exceeded a million. Heartbreaking news appears daily in the periodicals. From the province of Samara, the central organization of the Zemstvo telegraphed "Starvation in its worst form has ap-



peared. Many peasant families are eating only on alternate days." The wealthy farmers who have had any excess of grain have exported it beyond the reach of the needy because they feared they would be plundered by the starving peasants. From the same province the "Nowaja Mysl" telegraphed that as a result of the famine in that province hunger-typhoid had already appeared. In the province of Wornesch all the symptoms of the famine have appeared. Driven by sickness and hunger the peasants are pushing into the cities in search of employment. In the peasant villages universal despair and horror of the future reigns. The suffering of the peasant children, who for many days have tasted no warm food, is horrible. As the result of the insufficient nourishment the death rate has risen in a startling degree.

In the province of Saratow the failure of crops is so complete that the peasants have literally neither bread nor seed and therefore are unable to eat or to sow for the coming crop. From the province of Jaroslow the message comes that the villages present a most pitiful appearance. The rye harvest is extremely poor. The hay crop was a failure so that there is no feed for the cattle. There is no labor to be obtained to offer relief and the whole country population is confronted with the frightful menace of starvation.

In the Ural district also a total crop failure must be reckoned with. In a few places there remains barely sufficient for seed while in many neighborhoods the grain was mowed only to obtain straw with which to feed the cattle. Even the Cossack population which has so long known prosperity is ruined and must now rest its entire hope on governmental assistance. Similar reports come from many other provinces.

The paralysis of trade and industry, which has brought about so great unemployment in the cities has extended its injurious effect out into the country also. All this tends to paralyze what social activity might otherwise have been possible.

This growing misery has naturally widened the field of the socialists and arouses the peasants to revolutionary activity. All the energies of the socialist organizations are now directed toward controlling and utilizing this revolutionary attitude along effective channels.

#### Union Of The Bund And The Russian Social Democratic Party.

As long as there has been a revolutionary movement in Russia there have been two factions, the existence of which has tended to weaken any effective action. To be sure there have been other factions but these have been much smaller than either The Bund or the Social Democratic Party and could effect but little the general revolutionary activity. Every socialist welcomes the news that at last The Bund which represents the Russian Jewish Socialists has at last united with the regular Socialist Democratic Party. The Bund organization will be preserved to some extent as a means of carrying on agitation among the Jewish population, but henceforth the two organizations will work in close harmony.

### GERMANY.

#### Socialist Traveling Libraries.

One of the socialist representatives in the Reichstag, Dr. Sudekum, has recently, at great personal sacrifice endowed a number of traveling libraries for the use of socialist locals incapable of accumulating such books out of their own funds. A number of volumes,

composed of the socialist classics, are sent out in a chest to remain for three weeks, when they are replaced by another list.

The capitalist press of Germany are raising the alarm because all the printers, stereotypers, etc. are socialists, and declares that unless steps are soon taken to counteract this fact the whole press of Germany will be practically under the control of the Socialists. The capitalist papers are making most dire suggestions of what might happen if the socialists should ever undertake to establish a press censorship by means of the power which this control of the printing industry gives them.

The expenditures for colonial expenses during the year 1906 reached 132,000,000 marks. This expenditure is offset by an income of only about 11,000,000 marks. As a consequence the colonial minister has made a request for an appropriation of over 100,000,000 marks to meet the deficit. Some idea of how rapidly this colonial burden is increasing in Germany is shown by the fact that the total expenditures of the German Empire for colonial purposes up to 1904 was only 318,000,000 marks, while in the two years since that time it has reached 750,000,000 marks. All this has been expended for the purpose of maintaining outposts and strategic commercial points and for the opening up of expected markets for German capitalists. Consequently the socialists have stood in steady antagonism to this increasing burden.

The Imperial Union against Social Democrats, which corresponds very closely to the Citizens' Alliance in the United States, has recently announced its willingness to supply campaign funds and other assistance for opponents of the socialists. Its general policy is to select the "best men" among the various capitalist candidates and support them in the hope of thereby defeating the socialist candidate. It will be noticed that this policy has a close resemblance to that followed by President Gompers of the A. F. of L. in this country, with the important exception that the German Employers Organization picks the "best men" in its own class instead of going over into the ranks of its opponents.

One of the most important phases of the German socialist movement is the activity of the women members. They have a paper which is their special organ, the "Gleichheit," which during the past year has increased its circulation from 12,000 to 46,000. The women raise the complaint that the socialist men are altogether too much inclined to look upon the woman movement as something less necessary and to belittle the activity which they are carrying on. However, the women have accepted the proletarian motto that "They who would be free must themselves strike the blow," and are asking no favors, but are themselves conducting so active a campaign that they are forcing the attention of not only the capitalists but also their socialist comrades.

## ITALY.

### Unions among Italian Farmers.

The sudden setback which the Italian Farmers' Unions received immediately after their first rapid rise and their victorious battles during 1900 and 1901 has created the impression not only in Italy but throughout the world that they were merely an impulsive mob-like uprising without any firm foundation. The official statistics which have just been issued by the government labor bureau show that the unions of agricultural workers have really been steadily growing ever since their first sudden decline. According to this report there were

982 such unions on the first day of January 1906 with 221,913 members. These unions stand absolutely on the basis of the class struggle and in this are distinguished from the catholic unions which have been formed alongside them. With the single exception of the organization in Romagna which inclines toward republicism, they rest on a socialist basis and are dominated by socialist ideas. As a consequence of this the socialist vote bears a direct proportion to the strength of the organized workers throughout Italy. The province of Emilia in Central Italy has the largest per cent of its agricultural workers organized; 11.5 per cent of all those engaged in agriculture being members of the union. An interesting feature of these unions is the large number of women members. At the present time 39,677 women are members of agricultural unions. An analysis of the different phases of agricultural labor and the extent to which it is organized shows that the day laborers form two-thirds of the total membership. Next to these come the tenants and renters although they exceed the number of land owners by only a few hundred.

#### FINLAND.

The socialist party of Finland makes up one of the strongest divisions of the international movement. It has over 80,000 members in 462 local organizations, possesses an extensive press and is waging an active battle at all points. Its relations with the organized labor movement are such that there is practically identity of action. At a recent congress 380 delegates were present, including several from various parts of Russia and from Sweden, Norway and Denmark. These delegates from other countries were invited because the Finnish movement is taking an extremely active part in the Russian revolution and it was felt that consultation with all the nationalities most directly affected was necessary. It is in no small degree owing to the existence of this powerful, well organized socialist movement in Finland that the Baltic provinces have taken the lead throughout Russia's struggle for freedom.

#### HOLLAND.

The socialists of Holland are keeping up an active fight for universal suffrage. They recently held a demonstration in Amsterdam which for size and enthusiasm exceeded any political meeting ever held in that country. Over 1,100 delegates, representing 700 unions and having a membership of over 60,000 laborers were present, while over 15,000 persons attended the meeting. In spite of a heavy rain storm a great parade was held and participated in by thousands of workers. Some idea of their numbers may be gained from the fact that over 400 banners, each one representing a different organization, was carried in the parade.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

About the time this number of the Review reaches its readers the Federation of Labor will be in session at Minneapolis and going over the well-beaten path of considering perfunctory reports, renew jurisdiction controversies, discuss capitalistic politics, re-elect the old officials, and then adjourn and return home to give the delegates an opportunity to wonder what it was all about. It is doubtful whether any radical action will be taken to adjust the jurisdictional disputes between contending organizations for the reason that some of the "leaders" hate each other more than they do their capitalistic masters. If such fossilized reactionaries as Gompers, who will hobnob with and whitewash a Carnegie or Belmont, had their way they would rip the brewery workers to pieces, although the latter are doing just what the miners are doing, viz., organizing all the workers in their trade into one union, each branch having their separate locals. Gompers fears the miners, and not for a moment would he dispute Mitchell's claim that the engineers, firemen, teamsters or laborers in and about the mines must be members of the United Mine Workers. But unions less powerful feel the iron heel of the "Little Napoleon," who appears to have adopted the snobocratic policy of licking the boots of those who are strong and kicking those who are weak. The regrettable thing about it all is that the miners and carpenters and other large national organizations approve of the unfair, tricky methods that are resorted to by Gompers, and thus keep the labor movement in endless confusion.

The old story that Gompers is to be retired this year is out again as usual, but somewhat embellished. The claim is made that at the last quarterly meeting of the executive council in Washington there was some friction among the members regarding the Gompsonian political policy of "punishing your friends and rewarding your enemies." Duncan and Mitchell, first and second vice-presidents, respectively, are said to have spoken their minds upon the Maine campaign, in which neither participated, although solicited to do so. The program of Duncan, Mitchell, Keefe and others who are known as having no great love for Gompers was to abstain from active participation in the punishing and rewarding scheme that was born in the brilliant mind of Gompers, and if the latter could show no results at Minneapolis, to jump on him with both feet. But aside from this being newspaper talk largely, the Hon. Samuel has received so much attention in the public prints recently that it is a question whether he could be defeated if the effort were really made, and so long as the Federation accepts and endorses his peculiar methods there is little reason why he should be dumped. That his political campaign



was, as far as results are concerned, a monumental failure, even though some "friend" here or some "enemy" there was elected or defeated, no student of political or economic development will attempt to dispute. The one bright lining to the whole innovation was the solid, substantial growth of the Socialist movement, not because any assistance was obtained from Gompers and his machine of professional organizers (or disorganizers), but in spite of them, and for the reason that the rank and file are becoming aroused and are striking out on right lines. Gompers is merely a labor politician, and anyone who has read his *Federationist* during the past couple of months and noted the manner in which he boomed himself cannot help but come to the conclusion that he is determined to be the perpetual head of the A. F. of L. His one great gallery play to rally his reactionary supporters is to bullrag and browbeat the Socialist element in the unions, believing that he stands to gain the assistance of sufficient republicans, democrats and mugwumps to win, not only over the Socialists, but also over his opponents in his own camp. Any and every honest criticism of Gompers or his methods is twisted into "abuse," "vilification," and so forth, and the manner in which he and his crowd can whine for sympathy would almost shame Uriah Heep. Every time you question Gompers or his policies you attack the labor movement, according to that gentleman and his cuckoos, and, depending upon and having the support of ignorance and prejudice to maintain his grip, it is no easy task to overthrow him. Therefore until such time as all the progressive elements outside of the Federation get inside and a strong group is formed, no great change need be looked for. The revolution must come from below. The rank and file, who are now becoming more tolerant on political questions, must be converted. Then the fossilized leaders will naturally be dropped by the wayside.

---

If there were any working people who looked with hope to the Industrial Workers of the World to escape from the reactionary and conservative tactics that are enervating the American Federation of Labor they were surely doomed to disappointment. After an experiment of a little over a year the I. W. W. appears to have gone the same route as the late lamented S. T. and L. A. The meager reports sent out from the Chicago convention indicate that that prince of disrupters, Dan DeLeon, again disported himself in his natural element. Dan is never happier than when he can "clarify" something. He is always looking about for new Augean stables to clean, "fakirs" to chew up with his "buzz-saw," and new worlds to conquer. To read in DeLeon's funny old *People* that "the housecleaning began in Chicago by the clear cut revolutionary delegates," etc., etc., indicates that, having only "begun," the job will continue until all but Dan shall have fled. Nowadays Dan's *People* reads practically word for word as it did in the good old days of "riot and revolution" in the Knights of Labor, also when the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was at the height of its power a decade ago, and when the "kangaroo revolt" occurred in the Socialist Labor Party. Dan having "clarified" the K. of L., the S. T. and L. A. and the S. L. P. out of business, he saw at once that the Industrial Workers of the World needed his valuable services, and, as a class-conscious, clear-cut, revolutionary, blown-in-the-bottle, all-wool-and-a-yard-wide scientific expert on surgery from Timbuctoo, what could he do but carry his trusty buzz-saw to Chicago and amputate "the fakir Sherman-McCabe-Kirkpat-

rick-Mahoney-Cronin crew?" Having thrown the constitution of the I. W. W. in the air (and what's a constitution among friends, anyhow?), and divorced the fakirs from their graft, Dan is once more contented as he sits in his den, in New Reade street, New York, and observes how the "revolutionists" and the "reactionists" are "nobly waging the class struggle." Just why Gilbert and Sullivan or Charles Hoyt passed from the scenes of their theatrical triumphs before having the opportunity of building a screaming farce comedy or burlesque, with a guarantee of a laugh every minute, entitled "From Dan to Beer-Sheba," with the professor in the role of star comedian, is one of the mysteries of fate. Of course, during the next few months we shall hear a great deal through the People how the fakirs are being routed all along the line, until the purifying and clarifying is complete. Just now the Western Federation of Miners appears to be receiving DeLeon's kindly attention, and he is instructing that organization at long range how to conduct itself and "kick out" the traitors. The miners haven't got enough troubles fighting the combined capitalists of the country; they must waste valuable time and money to combat a few dancing dervishes in their own ranks who have become inoculated with DeLeon dope, to the great joy of the plutocrats. Why the American labor movement has ever been cursed by becoming the prey of this meddling old fool in New York, who seems never more pleased than when he is ripping some organization up the back, is past finding out. The marvel of it is that enough idiots can be found outside of an insane asylum to listen to and to follow the freak. Either he has been driven mad by his own egotism or he is a scheming corruptionist, for certainly no person in the United States has done more to cause internal strife and disruption in the labor movement, political and industrial, than the humbug professor and all-around adventurer, DeLeon. That the I. W. W. received its death-blow at Chicago and will gradually disintegrate no careful observer of labor affairs will attempt to dispute. But watch and see, after that organization has disappeared, whether DeLeon doesn't crouch in wait for some new victim. It is to be deplored that a good many earnest, honest, conscientious Socialists and trade unionists sacrificed their energies in a movement that was stamped with failure the moment that the impossibilists were countenanced, and that some of the former even sought to defend or apologize for the unreasonable and repudiated tactics that are commonly known as deleonism. The modern economic development, the evolution of capitalism, will and is educating the working class, and it doesn't make a particle of difference whether labor organizations are labeled A. F. of L., or I. W. W., or X. Y. Z., final and complete emancipation will not come until the time is ripe, until the workers have learned their lessons, and they will not be taught with a club and by any one group proclaiming war upon another. If half as much effort were made by some of the swell-headed leaders, so-called, to unify and harmonize the labor forces as there is to boss, divide and disrupt them, the American movement would be further advanced. The rank and file ought to place less reliance in all things that come from their alleged spokesmen, make a more careful study of every phase of the situation, adopt some such slogan as, "To hell with the leaders!" declare their independence and their opposition to be regarded as children and become their own leaders.

---

There is no material change in the national strikes that are being

waged by the printers, bridge and structural iron workers and lithographers. The printers are making slight gains in their eight-hour fight, it seems almost inch by inch, and have reduced their assessments of 10 per cent to 7 per cent on wages earned. A further reduction to 5 per cent will probably be made in the near future. The bridge and structural iron workers held a conference recently with representatives of the bridge trust, but were unable to reach an agreement on the open shop question, and the battle will be continued indefinitely. Like the printers, the lithographers are struggling to enforce the eight hour day and have been partially successful, but the bosses still hope to starve them into submission. The men have decided to levy an assessment of one-quarter of all wages earned on those who are employed, and the European lithographers are also sending funds to maintain the contest to a finish. The railway workers are becoming restless and widespread strikes are not improbable, while in the building trades important moves are expected the coming season. The molders report a number of hard fights against the open shop bosses, and other metal trades strengthening themselves in anticipation of trouble. Altogether the class struggle continues to rage as of yore.

## BOOK REVIEWS

RING IN THE NEW, by *Richard Whiteing*. *The Century Co., Cloth, 374 pp., \$1.50*

We have had stories in plenty showing the horrors of "how the other half lives." We have had utopias that described a dreamland future in almost equal number. But this is one of the first really high class novels to show us the stirring of the forces of revolution, to make a study of socialists in the making—psychologically and socially. Pure is a young girl suddenly thrown upon her own resources, who comes to London to find her fortune. A common enough story so far, and indeed there is little in the life of the heroine that might not happen to any one of thousands of girls in a great city. There is not over much of tragedy in the telling. The whole round of life is there and not its horrors alone. But into her life there comes a young socialist, Leonard, who first makes his appearance in the story through a little paper, *The Branding Iron*, which he is printing on a duplicator and circulating by means of a sort of circulating servant Sarah, who does odd jobs in house keeping for several lodgers. Incidentally Sarah, who acts as a sort of connecting link between the various personages of the book, is one of the most interesting characters presented. Yet, for the socialist reader at least, the principal interest must center around Leonard, who is kept mysteriously in the background until near the close of the book, so that we make his acquaintance mainly through *The Branding Iron*. This affords an excellent device by which to get some first class socialist material into the book in a perfectly natural and interesting manner. The Evolution of "The Bloke," for instance, is a burning indictment of the criminal will of modern capitalist slums. Of many books we have said "Here is something every socialist ought to read," of this one we can truly say "Here is a book that every socialist will *want* to read."

IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET, by *H. G. Wells*. *New York: The Century Co., Cloth, 350 pages, \$1.50.*

Of writing utopias there will probably never be an end. When the co-operative commonwealth shall have been realized there will still be things to dream over in the days to come after that.

More and more the utopias of today are taking on the characteristics of the international socialist movement. This work by the well-known English comrade bears everywhere evidence of the fact that its author is in close touch with the active socialist movement. Yet this influence shows itself rather in the criticism of existing society, in his analysis of the evils that spring from competition, than in his pictures of the future. The hideousness of capitalism appeals



to him, as it does to everyone of artistic temperament, even more than the terrible exploitation of the working class.

When it comes to the method of the change, we cannot feel but there is a distinct weakness. "The Great Change" is brought about by contact between the earth and a comet. The comet gives forth a strange gas which changes the whole character of humankind and makes them all enthusiastic, altruistic co-operators. This utter blindness to the function of the proletariat and to the real forces of the social revolution is a decided blemish upon the work from the socialist point of view. Neither do we believe that it is artistically a desirable thing. We do not believe a writer is justified in introducing a *deus ex machina* in order to accomplish his ends.

This whole portion of the book is distinctly bourgeois. It is the idea that you must first change human nature and that once you have succeeded in reaching the minds of the people that everybody can be converted. Some of his suggestions of the future society are also more fantastic than probable and in many cases are of a character that will undoubtedly be used against the socialists. This is much more true because of the fact previously mentioned that Comrade Wells takes an active part in the socialist movement.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### NEW SOCIALIST BOOKS.

The four new books announced in last month's Review were published early in October and a good supply of each title is on hand.

**The Positive Outcome of Philosophy**, by Joseph Dietzgen, is the most important addition that has been made for years to the socialist literature available to American readers. Joseph Dietzgen ranks with Marx and Engels as one of the first to give definite shape to the socialist philosophy. We published in June a volume entitled "Philosophical Essays", containing Dietzgen's shorter works. The present volume contains his three principal writings, "The Nature of Human Brain Work", "Letters on Logic" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy". These are large, handsomely printed volumes, containing 362 and 444 pages respectively, and if they had been issued by a capitalist publishing house, the price would have been fixed at not less than two dollars a volume. But this publishing house is run not for profit but to make intelligent socialists. And the liberality of Eugene Dietzgen, son of the author, who has paid for the translating, type-setting and electrotyping of these two volumes, enables us to offer them at \$1.00 each postpaid to any address; to our stockholders 60c postpaid.

**The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals**, by M. H. Fitch, is Vol. 11 of the International Library of Social Science, of which the Dietzgen books are volumes 5 and 9. This work by Mr. Fitch is an important contribution to the theory of materialist monism, generally accepted by socialist writers. Mr. Fitch, however, has reached his conclusions independently from the study of Darwin, Spencer and their successors. A valuable feature of the work is the chapter on Herbert Spencer and his Mistaken Disciples, showing how the bourgeois followers of Spencer deify the Unknowable and make it the center of their philosophy, instead of centering their study on things that can be known. (\$1.00.)

**Social and Philosophical Studies**, by Paul Lafargue, translated

by Charles H. Kerr, contains a striking analysis of the economic causes for the theological habit of mind found among capitalists and their hangers-on. This from a distinguished socialist writer corroborates and explains the chapter by Mr. Fitch to which we have just referred. Lafargue also explains why the city wage-workers are indifferent to theology and are predisposed toward materialism. In this book the author also studies the origin of abstract ideas, especially the ideas of justice and goodness. His conclusions will be startling to conventional people and entertaining to socialists. (50c.)

**What's So and What Isn't**, by John M. Work, is the most thorough kind of a reply to the numerous objections, both sincere and captious, that are urged against socialism. For propaganda, there is no better book to give an inquirer who has read a general statement of our position and is beginning to ask questions. And any socialist who wishes to talk either from the soap-box or among his friends will find fruitful suggestions here. (50c.)

These four books are ready for delivery and will be mailed on receipt of price.

#### BOOKS IN PRESS.

**Marx's Capital** will, unless some unforeseen accident delays us, be ready on or about November 15. This means the first volume complete, in other words, the whole book which has previously been sold in the English language under the name of "Capital", besides some additions made by Frederick Engels to the last German edition. Moreover our edition is the first to contain an alphabetical index of topics, making the whole work far more convenient for reference. This is the greatest socialist book of the greatest socialist writer. It should be in every socialist library, however small. Ours is the best edition to be had at any price, and our price, postage included, is \$1.20 to our stockholders, \$2.00 to others. The second volume will be announced soon.

**Labriola's "Socialism and Philosophy"**, translated by Ernest Untermann, is all in type, but the final corrections have still to be made, and copies can hardly be ready before December. This volume is easier reading than the author's former work, and is full of interest. There is an appendix by the translator giving a most suggestive and instructive comparison of the writings of Labriola and Dietzgen. (\$1.00.)

**Kautsky's "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History"** will also be ready early in December. Kautsky is perhaps the ablest living interpreter of Marxism, and his subject is one not yet sufficiently covered in our literature, so that the book will be eagerly awaited by advanced students. On the other hand, it is not difficult reading, and

can be understood by any one who has read a few good books on socialism. (50c.)

Simons' "**Class Struggles in America**", with references proving beyond a doubt the startling assertions he has made, is now in the hands of the printers, and will be ready for delivery some time in December. (50c.)

Morgan's "**Ancient Society**" is already in type, but as it is a large book the corrections and electrotyping will still take some time. We expect to have copies ready for delivery by the middle of December. This great work has always sold and still sells in New York for \$4.00. Our price to our stockholders will be 90c postpaid, to others \$1.50.

Other important books are in preparation, but we will not solicit advance orders until we can announce the approximate dates of publication.

**What to Read on Socialism.** The new edition of this book, fully described on page 254 of last month's Review, is now ready. A single copy will be mailed free to any one requesting it; extra copies will be mailed for one cent each, or will be sent by express at purchaser's expense for 50c a hundred.

**Confessions of a Drone.** This striking indictment of the capitalist system by Joseph Medill Patterson, originally published in the New York "Independent", is now ready as No. 45 of the Pocket Library of Socialism (5c.) With it are printed "Marshall Field's Will" and "The Socialist Machine", by the same author. The booklet is one that is sure to be read, and the last section of it is the best popular explanation of the socialist party organization that has ever been circulated. Either 45 copies of this booklet or a full set of the 45 numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism will be mailed to any address for \$1.00. Our stockholders, however, can have 100 copies of the Pocket Library of Socialism, either one kind or assorted, postpaid for \$1.00. Ten dollars will pay for a share of stock; it gives the privilege of buying all our books at cost.

#### THE FINANCES OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE.

In September, as announced in last month's Review, we broke all previous records, and in October, the month just closed, we have set a new record. Our book sales for the month were \$1,940.04, our receipts from the sale of stock \$382.15 and from the International Socialist Review \$180.06,—a total of \$2,502.25.

This means that the publishing house is now on a self-supporting basis. The book sales are sufficient to cover the running ex-



penses, and the proceeds from the sale of stock can be put into the plates of new books. We are, however, publishing so many new books at the same time that more money is urgently needed within the next two weeks to pay the printing bills that are coming due and to save the cash discount on our paper bills. The plates of "Capital" and "Ancient Society" together will cost over \$1,200. The publishing house is now owned by 1,540 socialist locals and individual socialists. If each of these will send \$1.80 for the four books published last month, \$1.20 for "Capital", and 90c for "Ancient Society", the cost of the plates would easily be covered. But new editions of the books would have to be printed, and that would take more money. Besides, not all the stockholders are book-buyers.

At least half the money ought to be raised this month from the sale of new stock. An investment of \$10.00 gives the privilege of buying all our books at cost, and at the same time helps us in the most effective possible way to increase the output of real socialist books, the kind that will help the socialist party, not Mr. Hearst. Probably a thousand of the socialists who read this announcement have already decided to subscribe for stock some day. Do it now and help us keep things moving.

### THE REVIEW.

The International Socialist Review is going to be a great deal better next year than it ever has been yet. More people are interested in it, there are going to be more subscribers, and that will give more money to pay for improving it.

The one complaint has been that the Review is hard reading. Now we never intended nor do we intend in the future to make it a kindergarten magazine. If you want to convert a workingman who knows nothing of socialism, the Review is not what you should start him with; give him Spargo's book "The Socialists" or some of the booklets in the "Pocket Library of Socialism."

There are also plenty of weekly papers, besides the Chicago Daily Socialist, all of which are excellent for the kindergarten class, while many socialists find pleasure in reading them.

But there are a few socialists, and not so few as formerly, who realize that socialism has hard problems to deal with, and want to know more about these problems. The Review is meant for these socialists, and also for students who wish to make an impartial study of the scientific basis of socialism and its application to current problems.

The main difficulty we have had thus far has been that few socialist writers are at once clear thinkers and masters of literary style, while such writers often have to live off their literary work and could not afford to contribute unpaid articles. We shall begin-

ning with the first of the year be able to make a small expenditure each month toward paying for articles that could not otherwise be secured, and we shall give preference to those written in a style that will readily be understood by any party member.

We believe that every socialist local would be immensely strengthened in its working effectiveness if each member were to become a regular reader of the Review. We can not take any subscription for less than \$1.00 a year, but for \$2.00 we will send postpaid Marx's "Capital" or any of our other books to the amount of \$2.00 at retail prices, with the Review one year. If every reader will find us one new subscriber this month, the deficit will be a thing of the past, and the Review will be more attractive and equally instructive.